

245.

THE  
L I F E

Of the LEARNED and RIGHT REVEREND

REYNOLD PECOCK, S.T.P.

Lord Bishop of St. *Asaph*, and *Chichester*, in  
the Reign of King HENRY VI.

Faithfully collected from RECORDS and MSS.

BEING A

S E Q U E L

Of the LIFE of

Dr. JOHN WICLIF,

In order to

AN INTRODUCTION to the History of the  
*English Reformation.*

---

COLLECTED and WRITTEN by

JOHN LEWIS, Minister of *Mergate*, in 1725,  
and now REVIEWED.

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L O N D O N:

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324

22





# PREFACE.

**T**HE most learned and reverend archbishop *Usher* observed, 1613, that, ‘ at  
‘ that time the papists disputed with protestants, and particularly with those of the church of  
‘ *England*, the antiquity of their religion, and the *perpetual succession*  
‘ or continuation of it to that time.  
‘ The former of these, his grace said, the learned *Jewel* bishop of *Salisbury*  
‘ defended with the best success, and claimed to us protestants the first  
‘ 600 years, as the *most ancient*, as well  
‘ as the *best part* of time. The other  
‘ part, the *perpetual succession*, is, he  
‘ said, greater and more obscure, continuing

a 2

*Bellarm. de  
notis eccle.  
c. 5.*

‘ taining the space of 900 years ; in  
 ‘ all which time, the papists pretend,  
 ‘ that either our church was no where  
 ‘ at all, or was compelled to serve  
 ‘ strange gods, to adore idols, and  
 ‘ communicate with the sacrilegious.’  
 This the archbishop undertook to con-  
 fute, and for that purpose wrote, *An*  
*historical explication of the most im-*  
*portant question of the continual suc-*  
*cession of the christian churches, es-*  
*pecially in the Western parts, from*  
*the apostles times to that in which he*  
*lived.* But *they* being times of danger  
 and trouble, and his grace being robb’d  
 in *Wales* of the MSS. which he had  
 purchased for that purpose, he execu-  
 ted this good design no farther than  
 the times of our famous Dr. *John*  
*Wiclif.* To continue this history  
 therefore, I wrote the life of doctor  
*Wiclif*, and gave as particular an  
 account as I could of his opinions. It  
 was, I found, no difficult matter to  
 do this, and to shew their opposition  
 to those held then by the papists;  
 since

# P R E F A C E.

v

since Dr. *Wiclif*'s works in print and written hand are still preserved, and to be found and read\* in the *English* libraries.

‘ † *John Wiclif* was the most re-<sup>Dr. Peter Allix.</sup>  
 ‘ nowned man of that age, both for  
 ‘ *learning* and *piety*, as appears by his  
 ‘ works above mentioned. Whether  
 ‘ he maintained the doctrine of the  
 ‘ *Waldenses* or no, certain it is, that  
 ‘ it received new lustre from his lear-  
 ‘ ning, and those who joined with  
 ‘ him in defence of the truth in oppo-  
 ‘ sition to the popish errors and super-  
 ‘ stitions. Of these he made a very  
 ‘ particular discussion, in which we  
 ‘ meet with a great knowledge of ho-  
 ‘ ly scripture, and great skill in anti-  
 ‘ quity, whose authority he makes use  
 ‘ of  
 a 3

\* A particular account of them, and where they are re-  
 posited, may be seen in the life of doctor *Wiclif*, chap. 9. p.  
 43, &c.

† In 1722, in the famous university of *Oxford*, lived  
 the *Thomas Herne*, who gave the following character of  
 his great and venerable man; *qui revera rebellis impiusque*  
*erat*: and for proof of it recommended false and bitter popish  
 bells on that university, printed 1623, as a great rarity.  
*Orduni Scotichronicon*. See *Advertisement* before the life of  
*Dr. Wiclif*, edit. 1723.



‘ of to confound the *Romish* novelties ;  
 ‘ we likewise discover there a great  
 ‘ strength in his way of reasoning, and  
 ‘ an extraordinary method in his con-  
 ‘ sequences, so that he seems to have  
 ‘ fully penetrated the weakness of the  
 ‘ *Roman* cause ; there being scarcely  
 ‘ any articles controverted between the  
 ‘ church of *Rome* and the *protestants*  
 ‘ to be met with, which doctor *Wi-*  
 ‘ *clif* has not touched and handled, and  
 ‘ that with sufficient exactness too.’

It was with the same view, that I  
 undertook to collect and write the fol-  
 lowing life of doctor *Reynold Pecock*,  
 the learned bishop of *Chichester*, a  
 candid and moderate opposer of the  
*Wiclifists*; in doing which I have fol-  
 lowed the archbishop’s example, who  
 ‘ professed not to use his own words,  
 ‘ where he could have the use of the  
 ‘ words of others ; because that man-  
 ‘ ner of writing seemed much more ac-  
 ‘ commodated to the *truth* of the nar-  
 ‘ rative, and the *proof* of the things  
 ‘ which are told or related.’ I have  
 there-

# P R E F A C E.

vii

therefore copied the bishop's arguments and opinions from several tracts or books of his, which are still preserved in MS. in our libraries.

By this method we see the state of the controversy betwixt the papists and dissenting *English Lollards*, in our bishop's time ; by what pleas these latter justified their separation from the established popish church, and what answers were returned to them. We have likewise a view of all, or most of the changes, and reigning abuses, and corruptions of popery brought into the church of *England* before the happy reformation of it. To use the words of a very learned and judicious friend, who saw and perused the following papers; ' while the bishop defends these abuses, complained of by ' the dissenters, in such a way as he ' could, he at least owns the facts, ' which is very considerable. The ' *Wiclifists* might be suspected of *falsifying*, or however of *aggravating*; and ' it has been pretended, that no credit

Dr. Daniel  
Waterland.

‘ ought to be given to the reports of ad-  
 ‘ versaries. But our bishop was a friend  
 ‘ of the papacy, and a very sincere  
 ‘ one; what *he* therefore owns and con-  
 ‘ fesses, can’t well be suspected of being  
 ‘ false or misreported.’

The reader will also see a further proof of the vanity and falshood of the late\* and former shameless brags and boastings of our popish emissaries, that *the doctrine, called popery, is as ancient as christianity.* So far is this from being true, that during the first 600 years after *Christ*, there was no such thing in the world, as what is now called Popery. Nay doctor *Wiclif* maintained, that it had no being ’till after the loosing of *Satan* in the second millenary ; and so much was ingenuously owned by cardinal *Quignonus*, that ‘ by little and little a departure had ‘ been made from the very godly insti- ‘ tutions of the ancient fathers.’ The learned *John Beletb* of *Paris* observed, that

† *The shortest way to end disputes about religion, 1716, viz. To have an implicate faith in an infallible judge and guide.*

D. Offici.  
Expli. c. 42.

that ‘ heretofore the *Sacrifice* was celebrated by the apostles, and apostolical men, in the primitive church with *wooden vessels* and *vulgar garments*; for then, as is commonly said, there were *wooden chalices* and *golden priests*, but now is quite the contrary.’ Instead of *vulgar garments*, are now introduced and used, an *amess*\*, an *alb*, a *surcingle*, a *maniple*, a *stole*, and a *chasuble*; all which are distinctly blessed or consecrated, and supposed to be ‘ watered from above by God’s grace, and purified, blessed, and consecrated by the humble service of the bishop, and by those means to be made meet and blessed for divine worship and holy mysteries; and that the bishops, priests, and *levites* being habited with them, may deserve to be guarded and defended from all attacks or temptations of malignant spirits.’

Here

\* Not one of these vestments was retained in the church of *England* after the reformation, nor any other consecrated vestments.



Hist. Eccle.  
lib. II. c. 2.

Catal. L.L.  
MSS. in Bib-  
lioth. CCC.  
in Cambridge  
p. 28.

Here in *England*, or rather in *Great-Britain*, so far were either the clergy or people from conforming to the church of *Rome* in venerable *Bede's* time, and acknowledging a dependency on the pope as their supreme head ; that he tells us, ' the *British* ' bishops and doctors preferred their ' own traditions to the *Romish* customs ' and usages, particularly as to the ' time of the observation of *Easter*, and ' the *manner* of administering baptism, ' which they seem to have had from ' the *Greek* or eastern churches, by ' whom their ancestors had been con- ' verted to the belief of christianity; ' and did or practised a great many o- ' ther things, contrary, as he repre- ' sents it, to the unity of the church ' of *Rome*.' Infomuch, that the *Brit- tons* had this character given of them in a council held at *Rome*, in which the pope himself presided ; *Britones, qui omnibus contrarii sunt*, the *Brit- tons* who are contrary to all, or who differ from all of the church of *Rome*.

Of

Of this the reader will be furnished with many instances in the following papers, relating to the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the christian church; and thereby will, I hope, be convinced, that *changes* have been made in them, from what they were at first. Doctor *Wiclif* called the barbarous doctrine of *transubstantiation* a *new heresy*; a full and convincing proof of which are the *Saxon* or old *English* sermons, printed by archbishop *Parker's* order in the original and modern *English*, and entitled, *A testimony of antiquity*. The same learned man observed, that *leges de confessionibus expressæ in scriptura per mille annos et amplius suffecerunt*, the laws of Dial. lib. IV. c. 23, Obj. of freres, c. 16, MS. confessions expressed in scripture, sufficed for a thousand years and more; and imputed the introducing other laws or rules to the loosing of *Satan* out of prison. So that we may with much more truth return this man his own language, and defy *him*, as he defies *us*, to 'mark us out one single pro-  
'vince

‘vince, town, or even family, in  
 ‘*Christendom*, where the popish reli-  
 ‘gion, either established by law at  
 ‘*Rome*, or as it is modelled by the  
 ‘pope’s bulls or councils, was pub-  
 ‘lickly professed and published, as it  
 ‘is now, a thousand years after *Christ*.’

*Expli. D.*  
*Officio.*

The learned *John Beletb*, before-  
 mentioned, assures us, that ‘in the  
 ‘primitive church it was forbidden to  
 ‘any one to speak in an unknown  
 ‘tongue, unless there was some one  
 ‘to interpret it. For, said he, of  
 ‘what use is it to speak, if what is  
 ‘spoken be not understood?’ Certain-  
 ly of none at all. Our learned mar-  
 tyr and archbishop *Cranmer* obser-  
 ved in 1540, that ‘it was not much  
 ‘above an hundred \*years ago, since  
 ‘scripture hath not been accustomed  
 ‘to be read in the vulgar tongue, or  
 ‘in *English*, within this realm; and  
 ‘many

*Prologue*  
*A.D. 1408.*

\* *Jacobi le Long* bibliotheca omnium ferme sacræ scrip-  
 turæ editionum ac versionum secundum seriem linguarum  
 quibus vulgatæ sunt.

A complete history of the several translations of the holy  
 bible and new testament into *English*, the second edition,  
 1739.

‘ many hundred years before *that*, it A. D. 680.  
‘ was translated and read in the *Saxon*  
‘ tongue, which at that time was our  
‘ mother tongue, wherof there remain  
‘ yet diverse copies, found lately in  
‘ old abbies, of such antique manner  
‘ of writing and speaking, that few  
‘ men now ben able to read and under-  
‘ stand them. And when this lan-  
‘ guage waned old, and out of com-  
‘ mon usage, because folk should not  
‘ lacke the fruit of reading the scrip-  
‘ ture, it was again translated into A.D. 1380.  
‘ the newer language, whereof yet al-  
‘ so many copies remain, and be dai-  
‘ ly found.’

We may here likewise observe, how far a bitter zeal, and persecuting spirit will carry those, who are so unhappy as to be acted and governed by it. No one could express a truer affection for the established church, than our bishop; insomuch, that he was led by it to vindicate some of its grossest corruptions, and to be an advocate for usages, for which in truth there was nothing



nothing to be said in their defence. And yet, because he did not insist on the authority of the church, or the clergy, and the infallibility of their determinations, (the test and shibboleth of a true churchman at that time) because he thought, that the people, as ignorant as they were, knew better than to believe it; and supposed, that the clergy, as well as other fallible men, might possibly be mistaken in their determinations: therefore was our bishop exclaimed against as an enemy to the church, which he so strenuously laboured to defend; and an encourager of the dissenters in their new separation from it, whom he took so much pains to reconcile to it. For his only supposing, that he could reclaim the dissenting *Wiclifists*, without having recourse to the infallible authority of the church, he was reproached himself as an heretick, and treated with an ill-natured scorn and contempt. Nay his enemies, who were but poorly qualified to be his judges,

never

never left him, till, having the court on their side, whom the bishop seems to have disoblighd, they got him, tho' contrary to law, deprived of his bishoprick, and confined a prisoner in an abbey for life.

This is the account, which I have here to give of the following performance; which if it be any wise useful to convince men of the falshood of those absurd and dangerous fancies, that the fierce wrath of man worketh the righteousness of God; or that truth may be imprinted on men's minds with the points of naked swords, and their understandings enlightened, so as to perceive the truth, by making bonfires of their bodies: That weak and fallible men, who will not order their unruly wills and affections, are infallible, and like God, can neither be deceived nor deceive; in short, if I can but contribute any thing to make my own countrymen more sensible of the great and invaluable blessing of the reformation, and that the  
re-

restoring popish superstition under the venerable name of *antiquity*, and asserting its usurped infallible authority over our minds, &c. is *putting an end to every thing, for which life is worth the living*, I have all my end.

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N. B. *No more than Two Hundred and Fifty Copies of this little Book are printed for the Subscribers.*



THE

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BISHOP of St. *Asaph*, &c.

# CHAP. I.

*Of the bishop's country, family, and education, and studying the controversy with the Lollards.*

I. **D**R. *Reynold Pecock* is said to have been born some where in the principality of *Wales*. The chief authority for this, so far as I can find, is his being stiled, in the pope's bulls of provision of him to the bishoprick of *St. Asaph*, a presbyter of the diocese of *St. David's*; which, very probably, he is call'd either



## The LIFE of

either on account of his being born there, or having a benefice in that country.

2. As the place of our bishop's birth is so uncertain, so it's as little known when he was born, or of what family he was. It's observed, that, at this time, instances were very common of persons of better rank than our bishop's parents seem to have been, neglecting to take due care to preserve their pedigrees. However, we may, I believe, venture to say of the bishop, as Sir *Thomas More* wrote of himself in his epitaph, that he was of \* an honest family, tho' it was not much known or celebrated. If we suppose the bishop to have died 1460†, about three years after his deprivation, and, that he was then about seventy years old, the time of his birth will fall about the year M.C.CXC.

3. But, not to dwell on things so obscure, and about which we cannot now be certain; of this we are sure, that the bishop was educated in grammar-school learning; and being made fit for the prosecution of higher and more manly studies, was sent to the famous university of *Oxford*, and there admitted of *Oriel* or the royal college. The studies which here he chiefly followed, were,  
we

\* Familia non celebri sed honestâ natus.

† Ille *Reginaldus* episcopus *Assaensis* valde fuit dispositus ad lepram corporis, & plures de parentela sua fuerunt leprosi. Etiam ille episcopus fuit leprosus mente; i. e. Hereticus fama plurimum. *F. Gascoigne, Dict. M..*

we are told, those of eloquence or rhetoric, or the art of speaking well, and of moral philosophy; both which he made subservient to that of divinity. The progress he made in these and his other studies soon made him taken notice of, insomuch that upon the election of master \* *Richard Garf-dale*, S.T.P. to be provost of the college, Mr. *Pecock* was chosen fellow in his room *October 30, 1417.*

4. As from Mr. *Pecock's* first admission in the university, he seems to have had his eye on holy orders, and with a just regard thereto, to have made choice of, and prosecuted his studies: so now being thought qualified for them, and to be of age and learning sufficient to enter into them, he applied himself to Dr. *Richard Flemmyng* then bishop of *Lincoln*, in which diocese *Oxford* then was, and of him obtained the favour of being ordained † *Acolyth* and subdeacon the same day, viz. *December 21, 1420*, and of being A. D. 1420. admitted to the order of deacon the 15th of *February* following, and to that of priesthood the next month, *March 8*, by vertue of the title of the fellowship which he held.

B 2

5. These

\* So I find it in some MS notes, communicated to me by the late bishop *Kennet*, tho' Mr. *Wood* takes no notice of any one of this name being provost of this college.

† *Reginaldus Pecock* socius Coll. *Oriel* *Oxon*, ordinatur Acolitus & Subdiaconus eodem die videl. 12 Kal. Jan. 1420, à *Ricardo Linc.* Episcopo, & Diaconus ad titulum dicti Coll. ab eodem *Ricardo* Episcopo 15 Cal. Mart. 1420, & demum Presbyter ab eodem 8 Id. Mart. 1420. Reg. *Flemmyng*.

*Leland de-  
scripto Britan.  
p. 458.*

5. These happy beginnings, its observed, had such success as virtue promises to her votaries and admirers, namely, the very best; for Mr. *Pecock* having now finished the course of his academical studies, and been admitted into holy orders, he took his bachelour of divinity's degree. This we are told he did \* under a certain monk of the *Cistercian* order about the year 1445. But there seems to be some mistake in the figures, and, that it ought to be 1425; about which time Mr. *Pecock* seems to have left the university.

*De scriptori-  
bus Brit.*

6. At this time *Humphry* duke of *Glocester* was protector of the kingdom; and being a great patron of learned and virtuous men, and hearing the character of Mr. *Pecock*, who was now well known and much respected in his college and the university, he called him up to court. In what station he was there, I do not find; but *Leland* tells us, by what authority I know not, that Mr. *Pecock* was so serviceable to the court and his prince, that in a little time he was endowed with very ample fortunes, and made a considerable figure.

7. Sir *Thomas More* tells us of this duke *Humfrey*, that he was a great wise man, and well learned, and intimates, that he was no friend and encourager of those feigned miracles which at this time were so much in fashion.

\* Incepit in theologia sub quodam monacho *Cisterciensis* ordinis—circa annum 1445. *Gascoigne Dict. Theo. MS.*

fashion. " As I remember me, says he, that Dyaloge, fol. 18. ed. 1529.  
 " I have heard my father tell of a begger,  
 " that in King<sup>a</sup> *Edward's* days the *fourth*,<sup>a</sup> *Henry VI.*  
 " came wyth hys wyfe to St. *Albonys*, and  
 " there was walkyng about the towne, beg-  
 " ging a five or six days before the king's  
 " coming thither, saying, that he was borne  
 " blinde, and never saw in his life, and was  
 " warned in his dreame, that he should come  
 " out of BERWICK, where he sayd he had  
 " ever dwelt, to seke St. ALBON, and that he  
 " had bene at his shrine, and had not ben hol-  
 " pen, and therfore he wold go take him at  
 " some other place, for he had heard some say  
 " since he came, that St. ALBONYS body  
 " should be at COLON.—But when the king  
 " was come, and the towne full, suddenly this  
 " blinde man at St. ALBONYS shrine, had his  
 " sight agayne, and a miracle solemnly ron-  
 " gen, and *Te Deum* songen, so that nothing  
 " was talked of in all the towne but this mi-  
 " racle. So happened it then that duke  
 " *Humfrey of Gloucester*, having greate joye  
 " to see such a miracle, called the poor man  
 " unto him. And first shewing himself joy-  
 " ous of God's glory so shewed in the get-  
 " tyng of his sight, and exhorting him to  
 " meekness, and to none ascribing of any<sup>b</sup> *honour.*  
 " part of the<sup>b</sup> worship to himself, nor to be  
 " proud of the peoples praise which would  
 " call him a good and a godly man thereby;  
 " at last he looked well upon his eyen, and  
 " asked whither he could never see nothing



" at all in his life before. And when as well  
 " his wife as himself affirmed fastly, no, then  
<sup>b</sup> Firmly, with " he looked advisedly upon his <sup>b</sup> eyen agayne,  
 great assu- " and sayd, *I beleve you very well, for me-*  
 rance. " *thinketh that ye cannot see well yet. Yes,*  
 " *Sir, quoth he, I thanke God and his holy*  
 " *martyr, I can see now as well as any man.*  
 " *Ye can,* quoth the duke! *What colour is*  
<sup>c</sup> presently. " *my gowne?* Then <sup>c</sup> anon the begger told  
 " him. *What colour,* quoth he, *is this man's*  
 " *gowne?* he told him also; and so forth,  
 " without any sticking, he told him the names  
 " of all the colours that could be shewed him.  
 " And when my lord saw that, he bad him  
<sup>d</sup> vagabond, " walke <sup>d</sup> faytoure, and made him be sett  
 cheat. " openly in the stockes; for, though he could  
 " have seen sodainly by miracle the difference  
 " between diverse colours, yet could he not  
 " by the sight so suddenly tell the names of  
<sup>e</sup> unless. " all these colours, <sup>e</sup> but if he had know  
 " them before, no more than the names of  
 " all the men that he should suddenly  
 " see."

8. By this we may see, that this nobleman  
 was far from being a bigot to usurped autho-  
 rity, and resigning his understanding to an  
 implicit belief of feigned and pretended mira-  
 cles, and so far agreed in his judgment with  
 Hall's Chron. Mr. Pecock. But it was his great misfortune  
 Reign of Hen. to be so far blinded either with ambition or  
 VI. fol. 2. b. dotyng for love, as to marry the lady *Jacqueline*  
 or *Jacomine* daughter and sole heir to *William*

of *Bavier* duke of *Holland*, who was lawful wife to *John* duke of *Brabant* then living : which marriage was not only wondred at by the common-people, but also detested of the nobilitie and abhorred of the clergie. But had not this been his case, his thus detecting the pious frauds and superstitious forgeries with which that darke age abounded, we may well conclude made this great man abundance of enemies among those who were engaged both by zeal and interest to support the credit of such lying wonders. So that it's not at all strange, that we find him suspected as no friend to the church, and, that by the contrivance of the cardinal bishop of *Winchester*, who then headed the clergy, his dutchess *Eleanor* was convented for witchcraft and forcery, and indicted for treason, in order to reproach and cast a slur on the duke. But to returne to Mr. *Pecock*.

9. In the year 1431 he was made master of the college of *St. Spirit* and *St. Mary* in the city of *London*, founded a little before by Sir *Richard Whittington*, several times lord-mayor of *London*. By the statutes of this college there was to be a master, four fellows, masters of arts, clerks, conduets, chorists, &c. The master was to be chosen in one month after every vacancy by the four fellows or chaplains of the college, and to be rector of

*Wharton de*  
*Episc. Asaph.*

*Newcourt*  
*Repertorium,*  
*&c. Vol. I.*  
P. 493.

## The LIFE of

the church of \* *St. Michael* in *Riola*, near to which this college was built †. They were accordingly to certify their choice under their common seal to the Wardens of the *Mercers* company, who were made conservators of the said college, and who were to nominate the person so elected and admitted to the prior and chapter of *Christ-Church* CANTERBURY, who were to present the same person to the ordinary to be instituted and admitted to this church, according to a composition made between the said prior and chapter, and the executors of Sir *Richard* and the wardens of the mystery of *Mercers* aforesaid. Mr. *Pecock* was accordingly presented to this Church by the said prior and chapter *July* 19 this year. In the instrument of his presentation, he is stiled bachelour of the sacred page, and master of the college in the church of *St. Michael* in *Riola* in *London*.

10. It seems as if after this, Mr. *Pecock* was promoted in the diocese of *St. David's* in his own countrey, since in the pope's bull of provision of Mr. *Pecock* to the bishoprick of *St. Asaph*, he is stiled a presbyter or priest of the

\* *Whitenton* college church standing in the street called *Tower Ryall*, a little above the *Three Cranes*, in the *Vintree*. *Discourse of Peter's Life*, &c. by Chri. Carlile.

† Mr. *Newcourt* has omitted Mr. *Pecock's* name in the account he gives of the masters of the college of *St. Spirit*, &c. and rectors of *St. Michael*, as not finding it, I suppose, in the bishop's register. But he was the *fourth* master of this college. *Repertorium*, &c.

the diocese of *St. David's*; unless this only relates to his being a native of that part of the country, as I have hinted already. This seems plain, that if *Mr. Pecock* was promoted in this diocese, it was to some benefice compatible with his mastership, &c. since of *that* he seems to have been possessed at the time of his advancement to the Bishopric of *St. Asaph*, as will be seen by and by.

11. By the account given us of *Mr. Pecock's* activeness in writing and publishing, it should seem as if about this time he applied himself to study the controversy betwixt the church and the dissenting Lollards, since we are assured, that for above 20 years, he was thus employed. Whether he was led to this by the nature of his promotion, and a sincere desire to satisfy the doubts and remove the scruples of his dissenting parishioners of *St. Michael's* in *Riola*; or for what other reason he applied himself to these studies, it seems as if the foundation of all his future troubles and misfortunes was laid in them. *Leland* tells us he was not careful enough in his interpretation of scripture, to follow the approved opinion of the orthodox, but would make use of his own sense and judgment, by which means he fell into error. But in order to form a judgment of *Mr. Pecock's* conduct, it will not be improper to observe, that

De script.  
Brit. &c.  
p. 458.



## The LIFE of

12. Dr. *Wiclif* dying at *Lutterworth*, \* Dec. 31, 1384, his followers were soon after distinguished, or rather reproached, by the nickname of † *Lollards*, and very much harraffed and persecuted. But notwithstanding this, and the death and loss of several of their great friends, they were not at all disheartened, but on the contrary their opinions so much prevailed, and the numbers of those who embraced them were so increased in several parts of the kingdom, that *Knighton* assures us, if two persons were met travelling on the road, it was much if one of them was not a *Wicliffite*, and, that this sect was very much honoured and respected. They themselves, in the papers which, about this time, they

Life of  
Dr. *Wiclif*,  
chap. X.

De event.  
Anglie, col.  
2666.

M. *Parkeri*  
Antiquit.

\* Inquisitores dicunt, quod dicta ecclesia de *Lutterworth* incepit vacare ultimo die *Decemb.* ultimo preteriti 1384 per mortem *Joannis Wycliff* ultimi rectoris ejusdem. Reg. *Bokyngham*, &c.

† Our canonist *Lyndwood* tells us, that this made word was derived from the Latin *lolium*, which signifies *cockle*; because as that weed is a great damage to the wheat [*infelix lolium* Georg.] among which it grows: so the *Lollards*, their enemies said, corrupted and spoiled the well-meaning faithful among whom they were conversant. To this derivation of the word or name, our poet *Chaucer* alludes in the following words:

This Loller here woll preche us somewhat,  
He wolde sowin some difficultè,  
Or <sup>a</sup> spring in some cokkle in our clene corne.

<sup>a</sup> *sprinkle.*

*Squire's prologue.*

Others derive the name from one *Walter Lolhard* a German. *Beaufobre* Dissert. sur Adamites, &c. Others agen from *Lullard*, or *Lollards*. The praises of God, a sect so named, which was dispersed through *Brabant*. *Picetti* Oratio, p. 29.

they put on the church doors and other publick places, boasted of their being a body of a hundred thousand men at least, which occasioned the following reflection, made afterwards by Sir *Tho. More*, That this noising, as he term'd it, that the realme was full of heretics was an artifice of theirs to imbolden their party, and intimidate the catholics; but now things were taking another turn to the Wiclifites great prejudice. Not only their great advocate Dr. *Wiclif*, but the queen and queen mother, who had done them many favours, were dead. The duke of *Lancaster*, Dr. *Wiclif*'s great friend and patron, had left the kingdom to take possession of the principality of *Guienne*. Of the \* knights, who, Dr. *Wiclif* said, favored much the gospel, and had wille to rede in *Englishe* the gospel of *Christ*'s Life, and who protected and defended the Wiclifites against the insults and forcible attempts of their zealous enemies, some were dead, and others over-awed by the king's

*English Works,*  
p. 915. col. 2.

*Hom. on Mat.*  
xi. MS.  
See *Knighton*  
de event. and  
Life of  
Dr. *Wiclif*.

\* 1. Sir *Lewis Clifford*, a younger son of Sir *Roger de Clifford* of *Hert* and *Hertnes* in the bishopric of *Durham*, and knight of the most noble order of the garter, died about 1404. 2. Sir *John Peccke* or *Pecbe*, son and heir of Sir *John Pecbe*, knight, warden of the cinque ports, and governour of *Corse-Castle* in *Dorsetshire*, died 1386. 3. Sir *William Newyle* died 1367. 4. And Sir *John Montacute*, 1388. 5. Sir *Richard Story* or *Stury*, was compelled by the king to retract or recant the opinions of *Wiclif*. See *Dugdale's Baronage*, Vol. I. II.

Isti erant hujus secte promotores strenuissimi—qui militari cingulo ambiebant ne a rectè credentibus aliquid opprobrii aut dampni propter eorum prophanam doctrinam fortirentur. *Knighton* de event.

king's authority, and fear of his displeasure : for now the king himself, to support the steps he had taken towards looseness and arbitrary power, made his court to, and tried to ingratiate himself with the clergy and religious, whose influence and power was now so great on account of the vast estate of which they were possess'd, that they were a body of men formidable to even the crown itself. This he did by expressing a very flaming zeal against the Wiclifites, who, he knew, were hated by the religious, &c. and persecuting those who favoured and encouraged their condemned opinions, which he suffered himself to be persuaded were very much to the prejudice of his royal state and dignity, and contributing to the disturbance of the peace and quiet of his realm.

*Parker's Ant.  
Vita Courtney,  
1396.*

13. As the fautors of Dr. *Wiclif's* tenets were so numerous, so they had now actually separated themselves from the communion of the establish'd church, and had not only religious assemblies of their own appointing, but schools which they held and exercised for the education and instruction of their youth in their own principles. One cannot, I think, well doubt of there being some of these unlawful conventicles, as they were called, in the city of *London*, where Mr. *Pecock* was now settled ; and which might probably give him, who was of an active temper, occasion to study the controversy be-  
twixt

twixt the church and these dissenters from it, and to use his endeavours to satisfy them of the unreasonableness of their separation. However this be, its plain he very carefully considered their objections, and was very particular in answering them, and vindicating the conforming bishops and clergy from their aspersions and reflections. But of this we shall see more in the next chapter.

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## C H A P. II.

*Of Mr. Pecock's being promoted to the bishoprick of St. Asaph, his taking the degree of doctor of divinity, the reflections made on it, his preaching at St. Paul's Cross, &c.*

I. IN the beginning of the year 1444, Mr. A. D. 1444. Pecock was promoted to the bishoprick of St. *Asaph*, in his own country, vacant by the translation of \* *John Lowe* the former bishop

\* Of this bishop *Lowe* the following character is given by *John Bury*, in his dedication to the archbishop, prefixed to his answer to our bishop's *repressour*, &c. Adest utique vobis ille reverendus in Christo dominus meus dominus *Roffensis* stabilis columpna in templo domini, vir Benjamin, vir genuinus, ab adolescentia sua utraque manu ut dextra utens, qui nec sic instetit scripturis, ut humanitatis in se studia aliquando vacasse credantur, nec sic humanas literas amplexatus est quin semper eas divinis exegerit subservire.



*Newcourt*  
*Reperto.* Vol.  
 I. p. 493.

bishop to the see of *Rocheſter*. By this promotion he vacated his maſterſhip of *Whittington* college, ſince I find *John Eyburhall*, S. T. P. admitted to it *July 4, 1444*. Pope *Eugene's* bull of proviſion of Mr. *Pecock* to this biſhoprick, is dated *April 22* this year; and in it he is ſaid to be maſter of arts, and bachellour in divinity, and to have \* testimonials worthy of credit, of his knowledge of letters, purity of life, honeſty of manners, a provident † circumspection of both ſpiritu- als and temporals, and other virtuous en- dowments; which was what was required to be certified in order to any one's being pro- moted to the epiſcopacy.

*History of*  
*England,*  
 Vol. I. p. 252.  
 ed. 1715.

2. By what favour or intereſt Mr. *Pecock* gained this promotion, is ſomewhat uncer- tain. The duke of *Glouceſter*, if ever he was his patron, was now declining in his in- fluence at court. A long feud had been be- twixt the duke and *Henry Beaufort*, the rich cardinal

\* Cui de literarum ſcientia, vite munditia, honeſtate morum, ſpiritualium & temporalium provida circumspectione, aliisque virtutum donis fide digna teſtimonia perhibentur, &c. *Reg. Stafford Cant.* fol. 15.

† Theſe are therfore to publiſh and declare—— what elec- tion we have, viz. That well knowing——to be a provident and diſcreet perſon——in managing both ſpiritu- als and tem- porals very circumspect and knowing, &c.

*Form of publiſhing the election of a biſhop.*

Accordingly in the oath which the biſhops took to the pope, was this claufe, *Poſſeſſiones ad menſam meam epiſcopalem parti- nentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignorabo, neque di- novo infeudabo, neque alio modo alienabo, inconſulto Romano pontifice.* *Vita Henrici Chichele.*

cardinal and bishop of *Winchester*; which as  
 laid the foundation of all the disturbances  
 that succeeded, so it particularly served to  
 set the clergy, who sided with the cardinal,  
 against the duke. Besides this, the duke  
 very bravely opposed the king's marriage  
 with the daughter of *Reyner* duke of *Anjou*,  
 and nominal king of *Sicily*. He thought  
 this match a manifest injury to the daughter  
 of *Armagnac* of the house of *Navarre*, the  
 greatest of the princes of *France*, to whom  
 the king had been solemnly contracted and  
 affianced; and, that it could bring nothing  
 with it but, as it actually did, loss and disho-  
 ur to the kingdom, as the yielding to  
*France* the dukedom of *Anjou*, and country  
 of *Maine*, bulwarks to *Normandy*, which  
 now especially ought to have been retained  
 in order to conclude a lasting peace with that  
 kingdom. But other counsels prevailed, the  
 daughter of *Anjou* was brought over by the  
 earl of *Suffolk*, one of the advisers of this un-  
 happy match, and the king was married to her  
 at *Southwick* in *Hampshire*, and she crowned  
 queen of *England* at *Westminster*, May the  
 sixth this year. *Suffolk* for this piece of service  
 was made a marquis, and the great favour-  
 ite of the king and his new queen; and in  
 less than two years after, the duke of *Glou-*  
*cester* was removed from his protectorship,  
 and excluded from the council table; persons  
 were encouraged to exhibit accusations against  
 him, and, to make the shortest work with  
 him,

*Preface to*  
*Sir Walter*  
*Raleigh's*  
*History, &c.*

A. D. 1444.

him, in a few months after he was committed to custody and \* murdered, which was said to be owing to the advice of the new † marquis of *Suffolk*. But if what has been observed before be true, that Mr. *Pecock*, by being at court, was grown very rich, we need not wonder how he came by the pope's bulls for this poor bishoprick, which were generally purchased with money. However this be, our bishop received the temporalities of this bishoprick June 8, 1444, and was consecrated in the archbishop's chapel of his palace at *CROYDON*, the 14th of the same month.

3. On occasion of this promotion, our bishop took his degree of doctor of divinity. This, we are told, he had given him without his doing any exercise. Thus *Gascoigne* speaks of it as a reproach to him, that " Mr. *Pecock* leaving the university before he had  
 " taken his degree of doctor of divinity †  
 " was made doctor by grace of absence, and  
 " never answered to any doctor *pro formâ suâ*,  
 " nor

*Dict. Theo.*  
*pars prima,*  
*p. 348. V.*  
*Episcopus, MS.*

\* *Feb. 23 or 28, of the 25 Hen. VI. or A. D. 1446.*

† In 1442 he had obtained a grant, &c. of the name, title and honour of earl of *Pembroke*, in case the duke of *Glocester* died without issue. In 1447 he obtained a creation to the dignity and title of duke of *Suffolk*, &c. which advancement was reported to be the reward of his advising the murder of the duke of *Glocester*. Bishop *Kennet's* *Parochial Antiq.* p. 630. 656.

‡ Qui doctor fuit in *Oxonia* per gratiam absentandi, nunquam enim respondit alicui doctori pro forma sua ut esset doctor, nec aliquem actum in scholis fecit in *Oxonia* postquam incepit in theologia an postea faciet nescitur a nobis. *Gascoigne*. *Dict. Theo.* MS.

‘ nor did any act in the schools at *Oxford*, after he was inceptor in divinity, neither by ‘ reading, preaching or disputation’. This it seems, was not particular in the bishop, even at this time, tho’ the conferring this degree in this manner, seems not to have been so common now, as it has been since. But this writer had a great prejudice against our bishop on account of his being reputed an heretic, for he was not condemned as such, ‘till some time after *Gascoigne*’s death.

4. *Three* years after Dr. *Pecock*’s promotion to this bishoprick, he \* preached, we are told, at *Paul*’s cross, and affirmed in his sermon several conclusions, which were afterwards the occasion of a great many evils in *England* and elsewhere. These conclusions, which are so frightfully represented, were *seven* in number, and are as follows:

I. *Nobody knows how to prove, that a bishop, because he is a bishop, is obliged himself to PREACH to the common people of his diocese, taking the word preach in its most famous signification.*

II. *Bishops ought not to hold themselves obliged to preach, in their own persons, to the common people of their dioceses ; because bishops are superior to other curates, and are obliged to keep themselves free, and at liberty from that burden*  
C of

\* *Iste Reginaldus episcopus prædictus—ad crucem Sancti Pauli affirmavit & asseruit in suo sermone, & per indenturas in Anglicana scriptura scriptas tradidit diversis personis post sermonem istas conclusiones plurimorum malorum causatias in Anglia & alibi. D. & Theol. p. 343. V. Episcopus.*



of preaching; the words used in that conclusion, being taken in the most famous signification.

III. Bishops, on account of their being bishops, ought to have knowledge of those matters, which inferior curates are to preach, and to have greater knowledge in answering and solving the great questions, than inferior curates are obliged to have, because they are inferior curates.

IV. Bishops have authority to resume, and take to themselves the office and work of preaching, and to leave it off, and let it alone whenever they please; in like manner, as they have the power of resuming and taking whatever relates to the labour of any cure, belonging to the meanest or greatest curate whensoever they will; so that they are not hindered by so doing from the better work of their ordinary cure†, which ought to be done by them, and which cannot ordinarily be done by another curate.

V. A more useful work may be done to the souls of men, than is the work of preaching, the term preaching being used in its most famous, and usual signification.

VI. Bishops may for diverse causes be absent from their dioceses, and not reside on them, excusably, meritoriously, and cum gratiarum actione,

† Novem sunt officia quæ episcopi ultra sacerdotes possunt exercere, scilicet, 1. Ordinare clericos. 2. Virgines benedicere. 3. Basilicas dedicare. 4. Clericos disponere. 5. Synodos celebrare. 6. Crisma conficere. 7. 8. Vestes, & vasa consecrare. 9. Ultimo confirmare. Bernardus de Parentinis Lilium Missæ. fol. xxii. a col. 1. edit. 1510.

tion, in the sight of GOD; and that otherwise, or if they were resident on their bishopricks, during the continuance of these causes, they would sin against GOD.

VII. Neither the pope, nor the bishops of England, are simoniacks upon this account, that they receive their bishopricks from the pope by provision, and pay first-fruits or annates for their bishopricks.

5. Any one sees, at first sight, that this sermon was the effect of the bishop's studying the dispute betwixt the church and dissenters, and that, in particular, these propositions were maintained in defence of the bishops and clergy, from the censures that were past upon them by the Lollards. 'Accordingly, it's said, that the bishop should thus speak to one master *Chapman*, 'That the consequence of his opinion would be, that no one hereafter would speak ill of the bishops, or murmur about them; since by him it was made evident, that bishops are not obliged to preach, nor to do the other works of a cure of souls, as children and the common people think; but its their office and business to superintend or oversee those who have cures.' But, notwithstanding this, exception was, it seems, taken at this sermon of the bishop's, insomuch, that after he had ended it, he by indentures, written in *English*, delivered these conclusions to several persons his particular friends, viz.

*Gascoigne*  
dicti. Theol.  
MS.

## The LIFE of

*Walter Hart* or *Lybert*, bishop of *Norwich*, who is stiled his fautor or patron; *Adam Molens*, bishop of *Chichester* and lord privy-seal; and *Dr. Vincent Clement* who is called the \* unwonted doctor, because he took his degree of doctor of divinity when he was only in deacon's or subdeacon's orders, and was admitted to it by vertue of the king's mandamus; being the pope's collector of his tenths, &c.

6. Of this sermon of our bishop's, complaint seems likewise to have been made to the archbishop of *Canterbury*, as if it was on a needless or unnecessary subject; that the conclusions maintained in it could not be defended; and that they favoured more of curiosity than of usefulness. To answer this complaint, very probably, our bishop was cited to give his grace an account of the reason why he thus preached. Since we have a short defence of these conclusions, supposed to

\* *Magistro Vincentio Clementi* doctori insolenti, qui *Oxonie* in theologia incepit in ordine diaconatus existens, gradu suo obtento minis & promissis, & diversis literis regiis, & brevibus regiis missis contra eos, qui in magna congregatione regentium in *Oxonia* gratiam suam petitam, ex sua conscientia negaverunt. *Gascoigne*, *Dictio. Theolo.* This the translator of the history and antiquities of *Oxford* thus represents; *Vincentio Clementi*, doctori *Oxonienfi* arrogantissimo, &c. *Hist. & Antiqui. Univ. Oxon. Lib. I. P. 221.*

Romanus quidam, *Vincentius Clemens*, papæ subdiaconus, atque quæstor. *Parkeri Antiquit. P. 434.* But, by the constitution of the university, one in no orders at all may take this degree of doctor of divinity.

to be made by our bishop to his grace, in which having repeated the *seven* conclusions which were objected against, he exhibits or declares the reasons of his drawing them up, holding and publishing them. The *first* of these is, That 'the opposite or direct contrary of these conclusions, had been for some time since the opinion of a great many men, and often preached by them in the pulpits: that the bishops who, *for reasonable causes*\*, were absent from their dioceses, were, by this means subject to very frequent detractions of the common people, and made vile and contemptible to their subjects, by whom they ought to be revered; nay, that they were rendered so much the more unable to correct, command and order their subjects, since they were so much injured in their reputation by being thus reproached; that no wise man will deny that this is an evil very deserving to be remedied, since we ought to do what we can to remove the reproach of even unworthy persons, or which is undeservedly cast on them, much more the unjust reproach which is attempted to be fix'd on bishops.' A *second*

*Reginaldi Pecock allegatio de conclusionibus suis ad arch. Cantuariensem. M.S.*

C 3

reason

\* The reasonable causes of priests being absent from their cures, *Bernardus de parentinis* assigns as follows, 1. The affairs of the church. 2. Being mortally hated by their subjects or parishioners. 3. If by the pope's commandment they waited at court, or served any bishop. 4. If they studied divinity at the university, provided they did not stay there above five years. *Lilium missæ. fol. 22. a. col. 1.*



reason given by the bishop for his preaching thus, is, that, ‘ in many bishops scruples of  
 ‘ conscience were raised on this account, *viz.*  
 ‘ their being under the strictest obligations to  
 ‘ preach themselves to the people of their  
 ‘ dioceses, and constantly to reside in them,  
 ‘ when in truth they were not obliged so to  
 ‘ do ; which was of very ill consequence to  
 ‘ them, especially to such of them as were at  
 ‘ the point of death’. A *third* reason given  
 by the bishop for his maintaining these conclusions is, ‘ that the laity also in judging so  
 ‘ rashly and untowardly of the bishops, and  
 ‘ becoming disaffected to them, or however  
 ‘ in taking off their affections from them,  
 ‘ have very often defiled their souls, and involved themselves in sins. From hence he  
 ‘ inferred, that it was very plain, it was necessary, that all these recited mischiefs, and a  
 ‘ great many others, should not only be prevented, but extirpated by the publication of  
 ‘ the above-mentioned conclusions, which no  
 ‘ one was able to disprove. For these reasons,  
 ‘ he said, he put them into form, stated, held  
 ‘ and published them, which reasons he  
 ‘ thought, no wise and discreet man would  
 ‘ deny, that they were rational, sound, and  
 ‘ fitly advising, that the said conclusions should  
 ‘ be stated, preached and published ; especially  
 ‘ since no prejudice, no impediment, no lessening of the office of preaching is occasioned  
 ‘ by them ; but on the contrary, on account  
 of

' of these conclusions, sermons delivered to the  
 ' people are more frequented, the delivery of  
 ' them is truer, and more admired, and peo-  
 ' ple are more edified by them ; as he promised  
 ' the archbishop should appear plain enough  
 ' in a book of *preaching*, which he intended  
 ' to write on the conclusions themselves.  
 ' These things, he said, he set forth and al-  
 ' ledged at present before his grace, reserving  
 ' to himself the power to do, prosecute, and  
 ' otherwise defend himself before him, either  
 ' in his court of audience†, or elsewhere, as  
 ' it shall be thought meet, by way of remedy  
 ' against the grievances laid to his charge by  
 ' some men, and to oppose the false notions,  
 ' lately propagated and declared from the pul-  
 ' pits.'

7. In this manner did our bishop defend  
 these conclusions of his, from the charge of  
 their being curious and impertinent, and not  
 to be maintained. That it was the opinion  
 of many, that bishops, as bishops, or on ac-  
 count of their office, were obliged to preach  
 themselves to the common people of their dio-  
 ceses, and to live and reside in their dioceses,  
 is plain from the writers of those times. Not

C 4

only

† *Audience-court* is a court belonging to the archbishop of  
*Caaterbury*, in which the archbishop heard many causes extra-  
 judicially at home in his own palace, in which, before he would  
 finally determine any thing, he did usually commit the causes  
 to be discussed by certain learned men in the civil and canon  
 laws, whom thereupon he termed his auditors.

*Cowell's Law Dictionary.*

*Dictio. Theo.*  
pars prima  
p. 381. MS.

only Dr. *Wiclif* and *his* followers, but many others, who were in other respects opposite enough to *him*, assert the obligation of bishops to preach, and not to absent themselves from their bishopricks. And how much the common people were affected by their taking little or no care to perform this duty, and what clamours and reproaches were made use of by them, we are told by Dr. *Gascoigne*, who lived and wrote at this time. Thus he tells us, that archbishop *Arundel*, who, he says, was only batchelor of arts, when he was made archbishop of *Canterbury*, made a constitution, that *no one who was not* † *privileged should* preach to the people without a licence had of the bishop; which licence no body could obtain but either by the great interest or importunity of others, or by money. And thus, says

† Pope *Gregory IX.* A. D. 1227, under pretence of extirpating heresy, granted to the preaching friars his bull, whereby he allowed them *the unheard of privilege*, as it is called by the historian, of preaching wherever they would, and of hearing the confessions of whomsoever they pleased. This was so much to the damage and prejudice of the several ordinaries, whom the friars treated with all possible contempt, as both insufficient in learning, and wanting in their duty, that instead of obeying the pope's bull (by which they were commanded kindly to admit the friars to this office of preaching, to which they were deputed, and diligently to admonish the people committed to their care, devoutly to hear them, and confess themselves to them) they gave them all the trouble they could, and did what they were able to hinder them from using this their new obtained privilege, of which the friars complained to Pope *Innocent IV.* who confirmed to them the grant of this privilege.

*Mat. Paris Histo.* p. 693 &c. ed. *Watts.*

says he, the archbishop tied the tongues of, as it were, all that were preachers, because of a few hereticks, who were then suspended from preaching. As a punishment of which wickedness, *Gascoigne* tells us, that ‘soon after his making that constitution, concerning binding the word of GOD, he had a stoppage in his throat, so that he could neither well speak, nor swallow, and so died||; and, that men at that time believed, that GOD had tied *his* tongue, because *he* had tied the tongues of, as it were, all preachers’. The same complaint was made by the *Wiclifists*; that if pryfts wolen seye their maïs, and tēchen the gospel in a bishop’s diocese, anoon he shal be forboden, but<sup>a</sup> if he have leave of that bishop, and he shall pay commonly for that leave much money, or else swear, that he shall not speke against great sins of bishops and other priests, and their falseness’. c. 42.

—They the prelates ‘wollen not suffren true men to teche freely *Christ’s* gospel withouten their leave and letters, for they wolden have money for their letters, and swearing, that men

Dict. Theolo.  
MS.

Of Prelates  
c. 16. MS.

<sup>a</sup> unless

|| This constitution was made 1408, and the archbishop died Feb. 19, 1413, five years after. A modern writer thus represents this arch-bishop’s death. ‘*Arundel*, the archbishop of *Canterbury*,” says he, “in a little time after he had read the sentence which condemned the lord *Cobham* for a heretick, was seiz’d with a distemper in his tongue, which swelled it so excessively, that it quite deprived him of his speech, and quickly put an end to his life.”

Oct. 1413.

*Goodwin’s* history of the reign of K. Henry V. p. 32. See *Gascoigne* Dict. Theolog. MS.



‘ men not preche against their sins.—They ge-  
 ‘ ven leave to sathanas prechers, the friers, for  
 ‘ to preche fables and flatteringe and lesings,  
 ‘ and to deceive the people in faith and good  
 ‘ life’.

8. As to the bishops themselves, *Gascoigne* complains of them, as so notoriously negligent and careless in discharging this office of preaching, that the common people in the open streets clamoured and murmured against them to this effect: ‘ Wo to you bishops who are so rich,  
 ‘ who love to be called lords, and to be served  
 ‘ by others on their knees, who ride attended  
 ‘ with so many and pompous horses, and will  
 ‘ do nothing for the salvation of souls, by  
 ‘ *preaching the word*; for either they know  
 ‘ not how to preach, being entangled in world-  
 ‘ ly business and bodily pleasures, or they  
 ‘ can’t preach truly without preaching against  
 ‘ those evils, of which they themselves are  
 ‘ guilty. Nor do they, when they do preach,  
 ‘ preach good works, which are things the  
 ‘ bishops do not themselves, but flight and  
 ‘ make a jest of those who make conscience  
 ‘ of doing them, or however do not value  
 ‘ them.’ Accordingly he tells us, that notwithstanding our bishop’s labours in the pulpit to vindicate his brethren from these reproaches, almost every body cried out, *væ, væ episcopus qui primus per eorum defectum*, that he was the principal offender in thus patronizing their vices. The same writer imputes the

*Hist. et Ant.*  
*Univer. Ox.*  
*Vol. I. p. 222*  
*c. 1.*

civil

ivil calamities of this troublesome and unhappy reign to the bishops not preaching, and our bishop's justifying this omission of theirs. Since', says he, 'the aforesaid bishop *Reginald Pecock*, and other bishops advanced by the king, have asserted, that bishops are not obliged to preach themselves, almighty GOD has preached in *England*, to some purpose, by actually punishing the bishops, and suffering them to be punished.'

9. The like complaint is made of the non-*Tho. Gascoigni*  
 eficiency of the bishops of this time on their *Dict. Theolo.*  
 dioceses. ' \* Before king *Henry VI.*' says the *pars prima,*  
 prementioned writer, ' the kings of *England* *p. 401. secun-*  
 were wont to choose for their confessors grave *da, p. 450. MS.*  
 doctors of divinity, who had no other cure, and the bishops then attended to the care of their dioceses. Thus *Henry IV.*, when his confessor was made a bishop, commanded him to go to his cure and bishoprick. *Henry V.* likewise, a very wise king, and a ter-  
 ' rour

\* Ante regem *Henricum sextum* solebant reges *Angliæ* majores doctores theologiæ exutos a cura alia, eligere in suos confessores, & episcopi suæ curæ tunc vacabant; sed in tempore *Henrici sexti*, *Stafford* episcopus *Cantuariæ*, et bastardus origine, fuit cancellarius *Angliæ*. *Adam Molens*, episcopus *Ciceriensiensis*, fuit custos privati sigilli et occisus fuit. Episcopus *Norwicheensis*, *Walter Lyard*, de *Cornubia*, fuit confessor reginæ, residens in curia, & episcopus *Carliolensis*, & postea *Lincolniensis*. *Marmaducus Lumley*, fuit thesaurarius *Angliæ*; & indignus episcopus *Cestriæ*, *Butb* nomine, fuit tunc Cancellarius Reginæ *Coventriæ*. *Margaritæ Angliæ*. *Dict. Theo.*

Nunquam invenire potui quod aliquis rex *Angliæ* habuit episcopum in suum confessorem, nec episcopum in domo sua, hebdomatim manentem, excepto *Henrico sexto*.

' four to a great many kingdoms, had with  
 ' him one grave doctor of divinity, *Thomas*  
 ' *Walden*†, who had no cure of souls, for his  
 ' confessor. And thus the kings and lords  
 ' used to retain such for their chaplains who  
 ' had no cure of souls. But in the time of  
 ' *Henry* the sixth, *Stafford*‡ bishop of *Canter-*  
 ' *bury*, and by birth a bastard, was chancellor  
 ' of *England*; *Adam Molens*, bishop of *Chi-*  
 ' *chester*, was keeper of the privy seal, and  
 ' was murdered; the bishop of *Norwich*, *Wal-*  
 ' *ter Lyard*||, a *Cornish* man, was the queen's  
 ' confessor residing at court; and the bishop  
 ' of *Carlisle*, and afterwards of *Lincoln*\*  
 ' *Marmaduke Lumley*, was treasurer of *En-*  
 ' *gland*; and the unworthy bishop of *Coventry*  
 ' \*\* *Buth*, was then chancellor to *Margaret*  
 ' queen of *England*. He observes elsewhere  
 ' that *John Kemp*††, a native of *Kent*, bishop  
 ' of *Rochester*, and afterwards of *London*, and  
 ' then of *York*, for almost 28 years, while he  
 continued

*Pars prima*  
*p. 387.*

25

*Henry V.*

† He was a Carmelite or white friar, and a strenuous op-  
 poser of the Wiclifites, and was therefore sent by the king  
 together with *John Clynton*, his ambassador to the council of  
*Constance*.

‡ *John Stafford*, bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was translated to  
 the see of *Canterbury* by papal provision, May 15, 1443.

|| He was promoted to this bishoprick by papal provision  
 1445-6.

\* He was translated from *Carlisle* to this see of *Lincolne*, by  
 papal provision, 1450.

\*\* *William Boothe*, or *Buth*, was advanced to this see by pa-  
 pal provision 1447, and from thence translated to *York*  
 1452.

†† He was translated from this see to *Canterbury* by the pope's  
 bull of provision, dated July 21, 1452.

continued archbishop of that province, was wholly absent from his diocese, living at London, or in Kent<sup>d</sup>, or elsewhere in Eng-<sup>d</sup> probably at Wyre, where he was born. land, at a distance from his diocese; excepting that sometimes in ten or twelve years, he resided in his diocese of York for two or three weeks, and at York a few or no days. And that the mob, when they set on Askull, bishop of Sarum, to murder him, thus insulted and upbraided him; *That fellow always lived with the king, and was his confessor, and did not reside in his diocese of Sarum with us, nor keep any hospitality, therefore he shall not live.*

10. As to provisions, or the pope's providing of a bishop, before the incumbent was dead, (called also *Mandamus de providendo*, or *gratia expectativa*, because the pope pretended by it to provide for the cure, or the persons to whom these bulls were granted, were to expect, or wait for the grace or favour they were to enjoy by them, until the incumbent died) we are assured by the fore-mentioned writer, that thro' the frequency of granting licenses to procure and accept of the pope's bulls of provision for vacant benefices, the most unworthy were promoted, or that

P. 26, 29.

*Tho. Gascoigne*  
*Dicti. Theo.*  
 pars 2da. pag.  
 516, 55. V.  
*Appropriatio,*  
 pars prima, p.  
 20. V.  
*Episcopus.*

|| *Henricus sextus fuit primus rex Angliæ, qui habuit episcopum continué secum manentem in suum confessorem episcopum Sarum, Willielmum Ayscough, qui a suis diocesanis occisus fuit anno Christi eo quod non residebat in suo episcopatu.*

*Gascoigne Dictio. Theo.*



that\* very wicked and worthless men, were by these means advanced to the highest stations in the church. He instances, particularly, 1st in *William Buthe*, who, he says, ' he translated from *Litchfield* to *York*, and was neither a good grammarian, nor knowing, nor reputed virtuous, nor a graduate in either university. 2d. *George Nevil*, who was provided by the pope to the see of *Exeter*, when he was but twenty-three years old. 3. *John Delabere*, who was promoted to the see of *St. David's* by the pope's bull of provision, dated Sept. 15, 1447, and who indulged his clergy in their keeping concubines†, receiving of every priest who kept one, a noble a year or more. 4. *John Kemp*, archbishop of *York*, who is represented as a non-resident, a dilapidator, and one who left his church, when he was translated to the see of *Canterbury*, in great disorder and confusion. In summ we are assured, that from the year 1403 there were none preferred in the church who knew how in a due manner to do good to souls, or who could or would do it: That

ibid. 516.

\* Novi nuper in *Anglia* homines pessime promotos, qui habuerunt licentiam a rege *Honrico* sexto, ut laborarent papæ *Romano* pro provisione, & qui illam acceptarent. Et sic per provisionem factam *Romæ* in diebus meis, facti sunt plures episcopi & abbates et decani sine electione quacunque, excepta electione papæ, quæ vocatur *provisio*. *Gascoigne* ibid.

† Plerisque in diocesis, rectores parochiarum, ex certo & conducto cum suis prelati pretio, passim & publice concubinas tenant. *Nicolai de Clemangis* de corrupto ecclesiæ statu. c. 15.

‘at that time in *England*, the care of souls ibid. p. 55.  
 ‘was destroyed by *appropriations*, the non-  
 ‘*residence* of curates and prelates, the *promo-*  
 ‘*tion* of worthless men, *pluralities* of bene-  
 ‘fices, and the very worst conferring of *school-*  
 ‘*degrees*, and granting graces to unworthy,  
 ‘wicked, and vicious persons, in *Oxford*, and  
 ‘other universities.’

‘11. Lastly, as to the payment of † *an-*  
 ‘*nates* or *first-fruits* to the Pope, the same ibid. pars pri-  
 ‘writer observes, that it was a novel prac- ma, p. 419.  
 ‘tice, and but lately introduced : that *Thomas* V. episcopus.  
 ‘*Becket*, and the bishops in his time, paid no  
 ‘*first-fruits* to the Pope, and, that they  
 ‘were not paid at any time before ; but, that  
 ‘afterwards, in the time of Pope *John XXII.* about 1317  
 ‘they begun to be paid by an avaritious or-  
 ‘dinance of the said Pope’s, and of those  
 ‘who adhered to him in the court of *Rome* :  
 ‘and, that thus grew up a custom in *England*,  
 ‘that the consent of the Pope of *Rome* and  
 ‘his chamber, the consent of the king of  
 ‘*England*, and certain thousands of money, p. 438 V.  
 ‘make any one a bishop. So else where he episcopus.  
 ‘observes, that *three* things make a man a  
 ‘bishop in *England*, *viz.* the will of the king,  
 ‘the will of the pope, or court of *Rome*, and  
 moneys

† Annatarum usum beneficiis ecclesiasticis primus [*Bonifacius*  
 IX.] imposuit, hac conditione, ut qui beneficium consequeretur about 1400.  
 dimidium annui proventus fisco apostolico persolveret—Hanc  
 autem consuetudinem omnes admiserunt, præter *Anglos*, qui id  
 de solis episcopatibus concessere, in cæteris beneficiis non adeo.  
*Platina in vita Bonifacii IX.*

Bankers.

‘moneys paid in abundance to the court of  
 ‘Rome, viz. several thousands of pounds of  
 ‘English money paid here in England to the  
 ‘Lombards for exchange, which impoverishes  
 ‘the kingdom.’

Of prelates  
 MS. c. 19.  
 39.

12. Of these corruptions and intolerable  
 grievances and exactions very great and many  
 complaints had been made for almost an hun-  
 dred years before. Dr. Wickliff shewed, that  
 prelates and priests ordained of God——ben  
 all bounden by Jesu Christ to preach the Gos-  
 pel: that prelates ben more bounden to this  
 preaching, for that is commandment of Christ  
 before his death and eke after, than to seie  
 mattins, mass, even-song or placebo, for  
 that is man’s ordinance. He therefore com-  
 plain’d, that they prechen not Christ’s Gospel  
 in word and dede by which christen men should  
 live holy life in charity——but they senden  
 new hypocrites to preche fables and lesings and  
 to flattren men in sin, and to rob the poor peo-  
 ple by false begging damned of God’s law,—  
 and pursuen and cursen if any poor priest wole  
 preache freely Christ’s gospel, and deliver chris-  
 ten souls out of the fends bonds, and leaden them  
 the right way to heaven. Elsewhere it is com-  
 plained, that if curates ben stirred to go learn  
 God’s law, and teche their parishioners the  
 gospel, commonly they shullen get no leave of bi-  
 shops but for gold, and when they shullen most  
 profit in their learning, then shullen they be  
 clepid home at the prelate’s will.

Why poor  
 priests have no  
 benefice, MS.  
 c. 2.

13. The ignorance of both the bishops, and inferior clergy of this time, is represented to have been generally so great, that they were incapacitated to perform this office of preaching. Dr. *Wiclif* assures us, that in his time, there were *many* unable curates\*, *that kunnen not the ten commandments, ne read their sauter, ne understood a verse of it.* Nay, *that it was then notorious, that too many of even the prelates were sinners in their being ignorant of GOD's law.* This, had long been a growing evil. The friars seem to have taken advantage of this ignorance of the clergy, to obtain the *privilege of preaching* and hearing confessions; for thus they represented the parish-priests as a parcel of idiots, who never heard divinity, and were blind leaders of the blind. A writer, nearer our bishop's time, gives us the following representation of the clergy of that age, which he notes to be the consequence of those provisions; or *expectative* *graces*, which the pope had now assumed to himself the grant of, *viz.* 'that they who were thus promoted, came not from the universities, or from school, but from the plough and servile arts; that they understood *Latin* no more than they did *Arabic*, nay they could not read; and which

*Great Sentence of Curse expounded, M.S. c. 3. 16. Dialog. Lib. IV.*

*Mat. Paris Hist. Ang. p. 694. See Abp. Peckham's Constit. 1279.*

*Nicolai de Clemangis de corrupto ecclesie statu. p. 8. col. 2. p. 16. col. 1.*

D

' is

\* Suche that can nat y say ther crede  
With prayir shall be made prelates,  
Nothir canne thei the gospel rede  
Suche shall now weldin hic estates:

*Chaucer's Plowman's Tale.*



Dr. *Wiclif's*  
Life, p. 39.

' is a shame to relate, were not able to distinguish A from B.' To the same purpose in another place; ' what signifies it,' says he, ' to say anything of letters and learning, when ' we see almost all priests without any knowledge of either things or words, nay scarce ' able to read even by spelling?' We need not therefore be surprized at what Dr. *Wiclif* tells us, that the *freres* supplied for the bishops the office of preaching, and, that the bishops sent others to preach that tellen leafings, fables, and chronicles, and robben the people by false beggings, and dare not tell them their great sins and avoutries†, for fear of lesen winning or friendship. A specimen of the friars preaching is given us by our Poet *Chaucer* as follows;

The Somp-  
nour's Tale.

And so bifell that on a day this fere,  
Had prechid in a chirche in his maneze,  
And specially abobin ebery thing,  
Excited the pepill in his preaching,  
To Trentals, and to gibe for goddis sake  
Where with men mightin holie housis  
make,

There as dibine serwise is honoured,  
Not there as it is wastid and debourid:  
Ne there it needith not for to be gibe,  
As to Possessioners, that may else lebe,

Thonkid

† Eche christin priest to prechin owe,  
From GOD above they ben yfende,  
GOD's worde to al folke for to showe,  
And sinful man for to amend.

*Chaucer's Plowman's Tale*

Thonkid be GOD, in wele and habour-  
dance.

Trentals, quoth he, deliberith fro penaunce;  
Thei frendis soulis, as well old as yonge,  
If so that they ben hastily y songe.

Not for to holde a preest jolie and gay,

(He singith not but o messe in a day)

Deliberith out, quoth he, anon the souls,  
Full hard it is with fleshe hoke, or with  
oules<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> pincers

To ben yclawed, or to byenne or bake,

Now spede you hastily for Christis sake.

And whan this frere had said al his  
entent,

With qui cum patre forth a way he went.

Whan folk in chirche had geve him what  
he lest,

He went his way————

14. Thus did the friars supply for the bi-  
shops the office of preaching, in so false and  
sophistical a manner, that the church was de-  
ceived instead of being edified by it. Their  
business was, instead of instructing the people  
out of GOD's word, and exhorting them to  
yield obedience to it, to persuade them to give  
them their money, to build fine and stately  
houses with, and to encrease their wealth.  
For this purpose, they did all they could to  
put the people out of conceit with the other  
religious orders, and the bishops and parish-

Pierres the  
plowman's  
creed.

priests, representing them as proud and lazy, and no objects of their charity, because they had enough already; and on the contrary, magnifying themselves as the only ones who honoured divine service, and did not waste and devour what was given for the support of it, and who were so intent on doing their duty, that without any delay they sung the thirty masses for their friends souls, and thereby effectually delivered them from their pains and torments.

William God-  
barde.

15. Our bishop by no means approved of this way of preaching; and is said therefore to have called those who preached in this manner *pulpit-bawlers*; in a letter which he wrote to one of these friars. To this, perhaps, he refers, when he explains the word *preach* to be used by him in its most *famous signification*; as if his meaning was, that bishops were not obliged to preach as the friars preached, who were the noted preachers of that time, making their sermons to consist of a parcel of fabulous legends and stories. Accordingly we are assured, that it was his lordships opinion, that 'bishops are obliged to preach by aptly speaking, and declaring the truths of divine scripture.' But be this as it will: it was certainly our bishop's design to vindicate his brethren, the bishops, from the clamours raised against them, on account of their not preaching constantly, as *they* were obliged to do who had a cure of souls. This they

they were represented, as thinking † beneath them, and a blemish to their dignity. But our bishop shewed, that the office of a bishop was to super-intend or || oversee those who are obliged to preach, and perform the other offices of a cure of souls, and not to do them always himself. By which his lordship seems to have meant, that there were many cases, in which a bishop was to be excused from preaching; as multiplicity of business, want of health, or any other lawful impediment, as attendance in parliament, &c. which disabled him from doing it himself; in which cases he might depute this power of preaching to such priests, to whom he committed the cure of souls; or might chuse out fitting persons to assist him in the ministry of the word, and to preach in his stead, in such parts of his diocese, where he could not be personally present to instruct the people himself. For our bishop allows, that altho' bishops ought not to be hindred by preaching,

*Tho. Gascoigne*  
*Dictio. Theo-*  
*lo. pars 1. MS.*  
 pag. 317.

*Ibid. p. 382.*

D 3

from

† Jam illud egregium & præclarissimum prædicandi officium, solis quondam pastoribus attributum, eisque maxime debitum, ita apud eos vilit, ut nihil magis indignum, aut magis suæ dignitati erubescendum existiment.

*Nicolai de Clemangis de corrup. eccl. statu. c. 14.*

|| In an ancient ordinal given us by *Morinus*, the offices of priests and bishops are thus distinguished. *Sacerdotem oportet offerre & benedicere, præesse, prædicare & baptizare. Episcopum oportet judicare, interpretari & consecrare, consummare, ordinare, offerre & baptizare. Morinus de ordinationibus, P. II.* So that it seems, when this ordinal was drawn, viz. about the year 900, *preaching* was reckoned no part of the episcopal office.



from the better work of their ordinary cure, which ought to be done by *them*, and cannot ordinarily be done by any one else, as requiring more knowledge than inferiour curates commonly have; yet every bishop was obliged to preach the truths of holy scripture, and pertinently to utter and explain them; and accordingly he not only took care, that such preaching should be in his diocese, but often preached himself. This *Gascoigne* represents as what people wondered at, saying, *That* bishop now preaches publickly, as if he did not use to do so. His lordship distinguished betwixt *preaching* and *teaching*.

*Hist. of the  
council of  
Trent by F.  
Paul Diſtio. M.*

*\* Morosa de-  
nuntiatio. Mo-  
rosa is perhaps  
low or plain,  
from mora a  
more or heath.*

*Preaching*, he said, was a <sup>c</sup> serious declaration, plain or artificial, of a truth, or truths without any proof of it or them, by sufficient evidence or evidences; whereas *teaching* is a proving of a truth, *i. e.* *teaching* is a manifestation, or publick declaration of the sufficient evidence or evidences of some certain truths, when there are evidences of it. By evidences, he said, he understood the more noted mediums or arguments whether they were *à priori* or *à posteriori*. By which, he said, it appeared, that to *teach* is nothing else than an act by which a man produces the knowledge of a truth in himself or another, by the fundamentals and principles of that knowledge: and that it is plain, that by no other mean than this now mentioned, does any one produce the knowledge

' ledge of a truth, which was before unknown.  
 ' To *teach* therefore is such a sort of act as is  
 ' now said. And therefore if it shall hap-  
 ' pen, that any preacher begin and continue  
 ' his sermon in declarations, and moreover  
 ' grounds and proves any truth declared by  
 ' him, by it's foundation, or by something  
 ' that is a sufficient evidence of it, he in this  
 ' respect exceeds the bounds of *preaching*, and  
 ' enters on the office of a *teacher*, and becomes  
 ' a *teacher*, and makes a mixture of his work,  
 ' blending *true preaching* and *teaching* to-  
 ' ther. By which the bishop observed, two  
 ' points might plainly enough be proved. 1.  
 ' That *preaching* is not the most perfect act  
 ' that may be done in relation to the souls of  
 ' Christians by their curates. 2. That to *teach*  
 ' is an act more perfect than to *preach*; be-  
 ' cause *that* knowledge is more perfect, by  
 ' which any thing is known to be true by  
 ' fundamental evidences, than is the know-  
 ' ledge by which the same thing is known  
 ' without them, by the sole declaration of a  
 ' man without any such evidences.' By this,  
 I suppose, our bishop proved his *sixth* conclu-  
 sion, that a more expedient work of labour  
 may be employed on the souls of men, than  
 is that of *preaching*.

16. In the *fifth* of these conclusions, which  
 our bishop is said to have maintain'd at this  
 time in his sermon at St. *Paul's*, his lordship  
 defends the non-residence of the bishops on

F. Paul's shift  
of the council  
of Trent.

their dioceses. Of this we find very great complaints made at this time, as has been hinted already. There were *two* opinions of the obligation of bishops residence, which had their several fautors. Some thought it was by the law of GOD, and argued thus ; ' that bishopricks are founded by *Christ*, as ' ministeries and works, and so require a personal action or labour, which a man that is ' absent cannot perform ; that *Christ*, describing the qualities of a good shepherd, saith, ' that *he giveth his life for the flock, knoweth ' the sheep by their names, and walketh before ' them, and feedeth them.*' On the other hand, the *canonists* and *Italian* prelates contended, that ' the obligation of a bishop to residence ' was by the ecclesiastical law ; alledging, that ' anciently, never any non-resident bishop ' was reprehended as a transgressor of the ' *law of* GOD, but of the *canons* only ; ' and, that the church hath ever held, that ' the pope might dispense with the residence ' of bishops on their dioceses.' This last seems to have been the prevailing opinion, as what was most agreeable to the corrupt inclinations, and carnal affections of mankind. Accordingly, we are assured by the writers of these times, that it was a common thing for those who were promoted to \* bishopricks

\* Multi ex eis qui pastoralis apice potiuntur, perque annosa tempora positi sunt, nunquam civitates suas intraverunt, suas ecclesias viderunt, sua loca vel dioceses visitaverunt, nunquam pecorum suorum vultus agnoverant, vocem audierunt, &c.

*Nich. Clemenſis* de corrupto ecclesiæ statu, c. 17.

ricks to enjoy them many years, without so much as going to their sees, or seeing their churches, or visiting their dioceses. Dr. *Wiclif* intimates, that here in *England* our prelates were held or detained by worldly offices from the souls that they had cure of: and else where, that *prælati Cæsarei satis deserunt officium quod Christus eis instituit, et in alio officio secundum legem aliam exundant.* Our poet *Chaucer* thus represents the secular canons of his time;

*Of prelates,  
M. S. cap. 5.*

*Dialo. lib. iii  
cap. 17.*

Thei ben curates of many townes,  
On yerth thei habing grete powere,  
Thei have grete prebendis and dere,  
Some two or thre, and some have mo.  
A parsonage to ben playing frere,  
And yet thei serbe the king † also.

<sup>e</sup> company.

And let to ferme all that fare,  
To whom that wol most gibe therfore,  
Some woll in spende, and some woll spare,  
And some wol laye it up in store.  
A cure of soule they care not fore,  
So that they mowin money take,  
Whether ther souls be wonne or lore,  
Thei profite they wol not forsake.

<sup>e</sup> saved or lost

Some

† A great many of the clergy, in these times, were the king's counsellors, others of them were treasurers of *England*, and of the exchequer; and others of them were made justiciaries in the king's courts. See *Mat. Paris, Histo.* p. 772, 774, 802, 942, 943, 952, 977, 978, 979, &c. Ed. London 1540.



Some ther churchis neber lie  
 He ney<sup>r</sup> o penie thither ysende,  
 Though that the pore for hungir die,  
 O penie on them wlll they not spende  
 Habe thet receiving of the rente,  
 Thet<sup>r</sup> ke ney of the remenaunt.

By this it appears, that even many of the inferior clergy of this time, set very little or nothing by their cures; but, that their residing on them was just as it happened to suit their worldly interest or conveniency. Whatever obligations they were under, by either their ordination vows, or their collation or institution, viz. to teach the people to whom they were ordained by word and example, to be always devoted to divine employments, and utter strangers to earthly busineses and filthy lucre, to be content with one church, namely that to which they were ordained; to be courteous and pitiful for GOD's name sake, to the poor and indigent, they were all cassated and rendered null by the dispensations which they procured†.

17.

† Vis ea quæ ex divinis scripturis intelligis, plebem cui ordinandus es, et verbis docere et exemplis? R. Volo. Vis semper divinis negotiis esse mancipatus, et a terrenis negotiis et lucris turpibus esse alienus, quantum humana fragilitas te consenserit posse? R. Volo. Vis pauperibus, et peregrinis, omnibusque indigentibus esse, propter nomen domini affabilis et misericors? R. Volo.—Et tunc demum in conspectu episcopi, vel cleri, sive populi, polliceri debet.—Ut ecclesia una, id est sua cui ordinatus est, contentus sit. *Morinus de sacerdotibus ordinati. Pars II.*

17. On the contrary, it was Dr. *Wiclif's* opinion, which he maintained with a good deal of zeal, 'that to this end and work, *viz.* Of prelates c. 1.  
'preaching and maintaining of the gospel,  
'*Christ* ordained all his apostles and disciples,  
'both before his death and after his resur-  
'rection: that sith *prelates* and *priests* ordeyned  
'of GOD, comen in the stede of *apostles* and  
'*disciples*; they ben all bounden by *Jesu*  
'*Christ*, GOD and man, to preache thus the  
'gospel. That neither *prelatis*, neither *Thirty-seven articles MS. N<sup>o</sup>. 2.*  
'*preestis*, neither *dekenis* shoulde have se-  
'culer officis, that is chauncerie, tresorie, pri-  
'vy-seal, and othireliche seculer officis in  
'the chekir; neither be stiwardis of londis,  
'ne stiwardis of halle, ne clerkis of kichene,  
'ne clerkis of accountis, neithir be occupied  
'in any seculer office in lordis courtis; that  
'most while seculer men be sufficient to do  
'such seculer offices. This sentence, *its said*,  
'is provid by holi writ in the 21st chap. of  
'*Luk*, where *Crist* seith thus; *take ye bede*  
'*to your self that your hertis be not grevid with*  
'*glotonie and drunkenes, and with bisnessis of*  
'*this life.* And in the second pistil to *Tymo-*  
'*the*, the second chapter, *no man that boldith*  
'*knyghthood to GOD*, that is as *preest* or *de-*  
'*kene*, *wrappith himself in seculer officis*, that  
'he please GOD, to whom he had provid, or  
'obligid hymself. And in the first pistil to  
'*Corinthis*, the sixth chapter, *if ye han seculer*  
'*domis among you, ordeyne ye the contemptible*  
*men*

‘men, othir of litil reputacionn, *that ben a-*  
‘*mong you for to deme.* That is ordeyne ye  
‘seculer men, that han litil of gostli knowinge  
‘to deme seculer domis: and, that clerkis be  
‘occupied aboute gostly officis, in helpe of  
‘mennis soulis.’ He observed further, ‘that  
‘the sentence of this article is opiny taught bi  
‘the rule of apostlis, set in decrees in the  
‘lxxxviii distinctionn cap. *episcopus*||, and cap.  
‘*neque*, and in xxi cause iii question cap. *Ci-*  
‘*prianus*\*, and manie mo, and opinli bi the  
‘pistil of seynt †*Peter* sen to *Clement* in the  
‘xi cause, i question, cap. *te quidem*; and bi  
‘seynt *Gregori* in his *morals*, and in his *pasto-*  
‘*ralis* and *registre*, and bi seynt † *Jerom* in  
‘his pistils, as<sup>k</sup> decrees witnesen, and bi  
‘*Chrisestome* on the 5th cap. of *Matthu*’.

*Apostolical*  
*Canons.*

<sup>i</sup> *Clement* to  
*James* the  
lord's brother

<sup>k</sup> *Dest.* 88 de  
*secularibus*  
*negotiis epif-*  
*copo inter-*  
*dictis.*

|| *Episcopus aut presbyter aut diaconus nequaquam secularis curas assumat, sin aliter dejiciatur.*

\* — *Ne quis de clericis et dei ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat: quando singuli divino sacerdotio honorati et in clerico ministerio constituti, non nisi altari et sacrificiis deservire, et precibus atque orationibus vacare debeant. Scriptum est enim, Nemo militans deo obligat negotiis secularibus ut possit placere ei qui se probavit, &c.*

† *Te quidem oportet irreprehensibiliter vivere, et summo studio niti, ut omnes vitæ hujus occupationes abijcias: ne fidei jussor existas: ne advocatus litium fias: neve in ulla aliqua occupatione prorsus inveniariis mundialis negotii occasione perplexus. Neque enim judicem, aut cognitorem secularium negotiorum hodie te ordinare vult Christus: ne præfocatus præsentibus hominum curis, non possis verbo dei vacare, et secundum veritatis regulam secernere bonos a malis. Ista namque opera, quæ tibi minus congruere superius exposuimus, exhibeant sibi invicem vacantes laici: et te nemo occupet ab illuditiis, per quæ salus omnibus datur.*

† *Negotiatorem clericum, et ex inope divitem, ex ignobili gloriosum, quasi quandam pestem fuge.*

18. By this we see what care was taken in the primitive church, to prevent bishops and priests forsaking their sees and cures, in order to undertake secular cares or employments. The same provision was made by the civil constitutions of the empire, for which this very good reason was given, that, 'by the bishops being absent from their bishopricks, and engaged in civil offices, the holy houses would be dilapidated and run to ruin, and the sacred ministries of the church be hindered'. But through the power claimed by the popes, by dispensing with the canons, (tho' by the way the makers of them ground them on the word of GOD) these wise and good provisions entirely lost their effect; inso-much, that in our bishop's time, the bishops were complained of as very largely bribing† and making friends at court, to get themselves places of profit there, that so living at other men's cost they might lay up the profits of their bishopricks. Whose example was so well imitated by the inferiour clergy, that 'some of them would rather than attend upon their own offices, and be among their flocks,

be

*Novella cou-  
ti. cxxiii. cap.  
6.*

† Illud nequaquam eis dederim quod ipsi ultro a principibus tanquam consiliarii evocentur, quinimo magnis sumptibus, amicorumque intercessionibus hoc impetrant, non quidem zelo aliquo vel cura reipublicæ, cujus nullo apud eos charitas est sed propter stipendia et larga munera quæ exinde eis proveniunt, ut alieno sumptu viventes suarum proventus ecclesiarum, in æraria recondant. *Nicolai de Clemangis de corrupto ecclesiæ statu. cap. 17.*



Bishop Lati-  
mer's sermons  
fol. 286. b.  
Edit. 1596.  
Hall's chroni-  
cle fol. 188.

' be clerks|| of the kitchin, or take other offi-  
' ces upon them, besides that which they had  
' already'. Infomuch that the commons, in  
the parliament held 22 *Hen. VIII.* complained  
that, '*priests were surveyors, stewards, and*  
' *officers, to bishops, abbots, &c. and had,*  
' and occupied *fermes, granges, and grasing*  
' in every countrey. That spiritual persons  
' promoted to great benefices were living in  
' the court, in lords houses, and toke al of the  
' parishoners, and nothing spent on them at  
' all, so that for lacke of residence, both the  
' poore of the parishe lacked refreshment, and  
' universally al the parishoners lacked preach-  
' ing, and true instruction of GOD's worde,  
' to the great perill of their souls'.

19. It does not seem to have been any part  
of our bishop's design, in vindicating the bi-  
shops absence from their diocesess, to defend  
these abuses and corruptions. His lordship  
indeed affirms, that their are several *reason-  
able causes* of a bishop's absence from his flock,  
and, that he may not only be excused for his  
non-residence, but, that such non-residence  
may be meritorious and deserving of thanks;  
but then he qualifies this by observing, that a  
bishop should be non-resident no longer than  
these reasonable causes of his absence continue.  
Our bishop could not be ignorant, that our  
kings

|| This Dr. Heylin represented, as if the bishop had said,  
that the poor clergy were forced to do this for bread. *Hist.*  
*of the Reform.* pag. 61.

kings in time past, as well as in his own time, were wont to have the *greatest part of their council*, for the safeguard of the realm, when they had need, of such prelates and clerks as were advanced by the kings of this realm, and other great men of it. That the prelates of this kingdom are declared, by our acts of parliament, to be *very profitable and necessary* to our said lord the king, and to his said realm, as being *the sage people of his council*. His lordship therefore concluded, that bishops giving their attendance on the great council of the nation, being summoned thereto by their prince, was a reasonable cause of their being absent from their dioceses, and not residing on them; that their assisting on such and such like occasions, was a duty they owed to their king, and their country, and that for their faithful performance of it, they were so far from being to be blamed, that they deserved thanks. But this is very different from defending their non-residence, when it was occasioned purely by their own ambition and covetousness, their thrusting themselves, without being called, into the courts of princes, and ambitiously pretending to the administration of matters of state, not to serve the publick, but to gratify their own haughty and secular desires.

20. The next thing, for which our bishop vindicates the bishops of his time, is, their receiving their bishopricks from the pope by pro-

Statute of provisors of benefices.

16 Ric. II. c. 5

*Morinus de  
Ordinati.  
pars II.*

*Duareni de  
fac. minist.  
lib. iii. cap. 2.*

provision, and paying *annates* or first-fruits for them. Upon this account they were accused by Dr. *Wiclif* and others as *simoniacks*; from which charge our bishop, it seems, endeavoured to justify them. Now as to the *first* of these, the bishops receiving their bishopricks from the pope by *provision*; we are to observe that anciently bishops were chosen by the clergy and people. Insomuch, that in the form of ordination, as low down as the year 900 or 1000, it is acknowledged, that in old times the bishop was to enquire of every one who came to him to be ordained \* whether he was chosen by the people. This was agreeable to the *Clementine* constitution; which ordered, that a bishop was to be chosen † by all the people, out of those of the best and most blameless character, who was accordingly to be presented to the bishop, who was to ordain him. At that time no one was ordained but to an actual cure; so that to be ordained and collated to a benefice was one and the same thing. Now this being done at the election, and with the consent of the people, they may properly be said to be patrons, as we now speak, of the several vacant bishopricks. But these elections; in process

\* Primitus cum venerint ordinandi clerici ante episcopum, debet episcopus inquirere unumquemque si electus populo sit.

† ὑπο παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκλεγόμενον. Constat secundum veteres canones in eligendis ecclesiæ ministris, non solum clericis sed etiam populi consensum maxime requiri. *Duareni de sacris eccl. minist. lib. iii. cap. 2.*

of time, as the bishopricks grew more wealthy, and consequently more deserving the wishes of men of worldly and corrupt minds, became very tumultuary and seditious, inso-much, that the civil magistrate, to preserve the public peace, was forced to interpose.

In the *British* and *Saxon* Times, and even after the conquest, till the reign of K. *John*, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities were conferred by the king in parliament, or his great councils. As one of the people and head of all the people, he must necessarily have a vote, and great interest in these elections. And therefore, when it was found necessary to lay these popular ones aside, it must be thought very reasonable, that this power should be transferred to the chief or princes of the people, and the magistracy: Since its certain, that all the right the people have is transferred to the prince and parliament as their head; and, that by the ancient canons this right is not taken from them. Accordingly it is declared by our acts of parliament, that this church of *England* was founded in the estate of prelacy for several pious and good ends, by the kings of *England*, who have therefore had and ought to have the custody of such voidances, and the presentments and collations of the benefices being of such prelacies. These collations they therefore practised, presenting persons to vacant bishopricks, and investing them in

Observations  
upon the ec-  
clesiast. Juris-  
dict. of the  
kings of Eng-  
land.

25 *Edw.* III.  
stat. 6.

*Cl. Seldeni*  
notæ ad *Ead-*  
*merum* p.  
142.

E

them



25 *Edw.* III.  
stat. 6.

them by the ceremony of delivering to them a † ring and a staff. This they continued to do till the reign of K. *Henry* I. when they granted to the several chapters a free election to such benefices upon a certain form and condition, as to demand licence of the king to chuse, and after the election to have his royal assent.

*Duareni de*  
*beneficiis, lib.*  
*iii. cap. 1.*  
*The institution*  
*of a christen*  
*man. fol. 47.*  
*b.*

20. As to the popes, *they*, in ancient times, claimed to themselves no right or power of ordaining any priests or clerks, and consequently of collating them to benefices, out of their own dioceses. 'It was many hundred years after *Christ*, before they could acquire or get any primacie or governance above any other bishops, out of their province in *Italie*. Since which time they have ever usurped more and more.' The later popes not content to be confined within these limits, or indeed to have any bounds set them, have made no question of acting in the most arbitrary manner, as so many lords and kings, and to arrogate to themselves the government of the universal church.

The

† If it shall appear, that till the Reign of K. *John*, archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical dignities were conferred in and by the parliament; then will a common mistake appear to run through many books of law, wherein we frequently read, that before his time they were donative; and conferred by the king *per traditionem annuli et baculi*. Confounding the election with the investitures; ascribing that to the king solely which was the act of the king and parliament. *Observations on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the kings of England.*

The pope was therefore said to have the full, free and unlimited disposition of all benefices, and accordingly in time, a custom prevailed, that was utterly unknown to the ancients, of expediting bulls; by which benefices, not yet vacant, were commanded to be conferred on certain persons whensoever they happened to become void: these were commonly called *graces expectative* and *mandates of provision*.

pag. 15.

The pretence for this new and unheard of claim, was the better providing for the several vacant churches, and instituting pastors in them of purer morals and better learning, than those elected by the chapters: but it was soon made appear, that the true meaning of this new attempt was, only † getting money,

Nicho. de Clemangis de corrupto ecclesie statu c. 3.

E 2

and

† Of this we have the following instance given us by Dr. *William Fel-Gascoigne*. Post mortem decani *eboracensis*, *Feltar* nomine, ter, L. L. D. canonici ecclesie pacifice elegerunt——*Bermyngbam* in decanum suum *Eboracensem*; et in tempore electionis in capitulo duo mali canonici *Eboraci*, et prior sancti *Oswaldi* elegerunt extra capitulum, juxta imaginem sancti *Christophori*, in decanum ecclesie *Eboracensis*, magistrum *Richardum Andrew* secretarium R. *Henrici sexti*. Et, facta appellatione per illos tres canonicos contra electionem veram *Bermyngbam* in capitulo, R. *Henricus* licentiavit illum *Richardum*, qui fuit pessime et injuste sic a tribus extra capitulum electus, sub sigillo suo acceptare provisionem papæ ut esset *Eboracensis* decanus. Ita quod papa *Nicolaus quintus* ipsum *Richardum* in decanatu ecclesie *Eboracensis* provideret, et electionem *Bermyngbam* factam legitime, cassaret, et revocaret seu adnullaret. Et sic factum fuit Romæ per pecunias prædictæ Rich. Et quia capitulum *Eboracense* ipsum *Richardum* provisum per papam recipere in suum decanatum non voluit, idcirco per bullas papæ *Nicolai* diversi canonici ecclesie cathedralis *Eboracensis* excommunicati fuerunt, et ecclesia cathedralis exposita interdicto, et suspensa per plures septimanas. Ita quod nec matutinæ, nec aliqua missa fuit in illa ecclesia per plures septimanas, nec vespere.

1451.

*Disio. Theolo. MS.*

and increasing the revenues of the apostolical chamber. For not only was there no regard had to either the age, the learning, or the morals of those to whom these bulls of provision were granted, the highest bidder being the surest purchaser, but in process of time the fees of these bulls were so much raised, and become so very extravagant, that 6 *Hen. IV. c.* it was observed by one of our *English* parliaments, that 'no parson, abbot nor other  
1. ' should have *provision* of any archbishoprick  
' or bishoprick, which shall be void, till  
' that he hath compounded with the pope's  
' chamber to pay great and excessive sums of  
' money, as well for the *first fruits* of the  
' same archbishoprick or bishoprick, as for  
' other services in the same court, and, that  
' the same sums or the greater part thereof  
' be paid before-hand; which sums pass the  
' *treble*, or the *double* at least, of that that  
' was accustomed of old time to be paid to  
' the said chamber, and otherwise by the  
' occasions of such *provisions*.' This the complaint of the commons, on which this act is grounded, calls a *damnable custom, which is introduct of new in the court of Rome*.

21. This usurpation of the rights of the several patrons of ecclesiastical benefices, by the popes, met with a very stout and resolute opposition here in *England*. One of our historians tells us, that in the reign of K. *Henry III.* pope *Gregory*, desirous to assist a special clerk

clerk|| of his, sent his apostolical mandate to the abbot and convent of *Bury*, with armed intreaties and terrifying admonitions, that they would confer on the pope, the income of some church in their gift, which was at least of the yearly value of 100 marks. But on the abbots notifying this new demand to the king, and asking his advice, and withal intimating to him the ill consequences of yielding to it; the king being sensible, that such a precedent would be not only to the prejudice of this church, but of all others in his dominions, on which the same arbitrary demands might be made, he as defender, patron and governor of the said churches, detesting the hidden snares and the avarice of the court of *Rome*, very strictly prohibited any such enormous fact any more polluting the air of his kingdom.

22. But the avarice and exactions of the popes were not soon checked. ' They claimed ' to have and occupie the whole monarchy of *The institution of a christen man, fol. 47. b.* ' the world in their hands, and that they ' might thereby lawfully depose kings and ' princes from their realms, dominions and ' seignories, and so transfer and give the same

E 3

suche

|| How much times were altered afterwards may be seen by what Dr. *Gascoigne* tells us; speaking of *Buthe* archbishop of *York*, he says, *conferit beneficia et præbendas pessime pueris et juvenibus, fol. 47. b.* The like he reports of *Kemp* archbishop of *York*, and afterwards of *Canterbury*; *malos et extraneos et curtesanos Romanos providit et elegit in magnas dignitates suæ ecclesiæ Eboracensis, et in rectores suæ diocesis. Dictio. Theolo. MS.*



*Plowman's  
tale, part II.*

‘suche persons as them liked’. This occasioned our poet *Chaucer* to use this kind admonition.

3 fellow.

**The Emperour gaf the pope sometime,  
So highe lordship him about,  
That at the last the sely<sup>1</sup> kime  
The proude pope y put him out,  
So of this relme is in grete dout.**

*Bp. Gibson's  
codex. p. 75,  
76.*

23. In the very next reign we find petitions drawn up for the estate of the crown of *England*, by the earls, barons, and other great men, and the commons of the realm, wherein they complained of the various new and intolerable grievances, oppressions, injuries and extortions done to them by the authority and mandate of the lord pope. The first of these mentioned by them, is the unbridled multitude of *provisions apostolical*, ‘by which, they  
‘said, the patrons of the several benefices are  
‘deprived of their right of collation or presentation, the noble and learned natives will  
‘be wholly excluded from all ecclesiastical  
‘promotion, so that there will be a defect of  
‘council, as to those matters that concern the  
‘spirituality, and none will be found fit to be  
‘preferred to the ecclesiastical prelacies; divine  
‘worship will be impaired, hospitalities  
‘and alms will be laid aside, contrary to the  
‘primary intention of the founders of the  
‘churches, the rights of the respective churches will be lost, the church-buildings will  
‘all go to ruin, and the devotion of the people

‘ple will be lessened.’ On which representation it was ordered, that the sheriffs of every county should enquire of these abuses, and attach these who were guilty of them. Accordingly writs were prepared to be sent to the several sheriffs for this purpose ; but after the recess of the parliament, the king was not only prevailed with, by cardinal *Peter Fabines*, then in *England*, to direct his chancellor to suspend the *sealing* of the said writs, but did also grant letters of protection to the collectors of the *first-fruits* and *peter-pence*, under colour of which they proceeded, as they had formerly done, in contempt of the prohibitions enacted in parliament against their extortions and oppressions. Nay they had the boldness to complain publicly, at the next parliament, that diverse of the king’s subjects had opposed and resisted them, in virtue of those prohibitions. Upon which occasion the prohibitions were enforced in a writ directed to the pope’s collector *William Testa*, whereby he was commanded and strictly inhibited, the any ways attempting by himself or any others, any thing that might be to the hurt of the royal dignity, or to the damage of the peers or people of this realm. But before the king could see this prohibition executed, he died, dated *June*  
27, 1307. and nothing further was done. *Jan.* 25,  
1326.

23. Men who were so far lost to all shame, as to complain to the parliament of the people observing their laws, one may well conceive

A. D. 1350.

ready to attempt any thing, so that we need not wonder at these grievances growing worse and worse. Accordingly we find it represented in the parliament, that met 25 *Ed. III.* that these grievances and mischiefs did then daily abound, to the great damage and destruction of all the realm of *England*, *more than ever were before.* But now in this reign of *K. Henry VI.* the popes were so far gone in their encroachments, that whereas before they granted to aliens and cardinals only rich benefices and dignities in cathedrals, now they granted *English* bishopricks to foreigners in commendam. Thus one *Lewis Lushborough* archbishop of *Roan*, was provided by the pope to the bishoprick of *Ely*, by way of commendam. This indeed the archbishop of *Canterbury* complained of to the bishops and clergy in convocation, as an invidious thing and of ill example, and what might prove to the great loss and detriment of the church of *England*; but to no manner of purpose, for the archbishop held this bishoprick till his death, which was a little more than *five* years after the temporalities of it were assigned to him.

*Duaren. de*  
*benef. lib. vi.*  
*cap. 3.*

24. When the \* exaction of *annals* or the *first fruits* of benefices was first invented, is not

\* *dimidium*  
*annui proven-*  
*tus.*

\* Statuerunt———ut quoties aliquem virum ecclesiasticum quicumque foret dignitate vel conditione ex ista luce migrare contingeret, aut suum cum altero quovis qualecunque beneficium permutare, totiens <sup>a</sup> omnis proventus primi anni secuturi certam

not so certain as to admit of any dispute : some ascribing the imposition of this tax to pope *John XXIII* †, others to pope *Boniface IX.* about the year 1400. But that it could not be so lately introduced is very plain, from the several complaints of the great grievance of it, made by our parliaments from the year 1350 and afterwards, *fifty* years before this time. This was an arbitrary tax, the sum to be paid being fixed or settled by the mere will and pleasure of the pope, or the officers of his chamber : so that tho' it was pretended to be only the first year's fruits of the bishoprick, or half a year's profits of any lesser

tam ad summam, suo arbitratu, taxatos, sua memorata camera acciperet. Quod si illam fortassis summam annua fructuum collectio, aut ex diminutione fructuum, aut alia calamitate conficere non posset, triennali vel quandoque quadriennali fructuum exactione ad summam ipsam pertingi voluerunt. *Nic. de Clemangis* de cor. Ecclesiæ statu.

Onus illud *Annatarum* ab initio omnes generatim populi subire minus recusarunt extra Anglos qui suis minoribus sacerdotibus, quando ea pontifex dabat, id servitutis imponendum non censuerunt. Nam pontifex *Romanus* minorum quoque sacerdotum aliarum gentium quæ ipse confert, dimidiam capit vectigalium unius anni partem, si pluries viginti quatuor aureis æstimentur. *Pol. Virgil* de Invent. lib. viii. cap. 2.

† *S. Thomas* nullos solvit primos fructus seu annata papæ *Romano*, quod nullus episcopus in tempore *S. Thomæ* solvit primos fructus papæ nec antea. Postea tamen in tempore papæ *Romani*, *Johannis XXII.* primi fructus sive annata papæ solvi cœperunt, ex cupida ordinatione papæ *Johannis XXII* & sibi adherentium in curia *Romana*. Et sic inolevit in *Anglia* consuetudo quod consensus papæ *Romani* & ejus cameræ, & consensus regis in *Anglia*, & certa millia pecuniarum constituunt episcopum quemcunque jam in *Anglia*, ut sit episcopus.

*Gascoigne*, Dictio. Theolo. MS.



leffer benefice worth above 24 nobles a year, it sometimes proved to be the fruits of three or four years; for let what accidents would happen, as loss of the crop, &c. the sum appointed by the chamber was to be raised. It is fairly owned by one of the pope's † collectors of this tax in *England*, that of all the projects invented by the court of *Rome* for augmenting its revenues, this was the most gainful one; and, that tho' it was by little and little imposed, that so it might insensibly, as it were, take place, (for when the pope first of all pretended to dispose of vacant benefices by his mandates of provision, this tax seems not to have been demanded) yet it was often protested against, and complained of as a great grievance, but to no purpose. Here in *England*, we find remonstrances made against this imposition from *Rome*, by several parlia-

† Nullum inventum majores *Romano* pontifici cumulavit opes quam annatum (quas vocant) usus, qui omnino multo antiquior est quam recentiores quidam scriptores suspicantur. Et ANNA-  
TES, more suo, appellant primos fructus unius anni sacerdotii vacantis, aut dimidiam eorum partem. Sane hoc vectigal jampridem cum *Romanus* pontifex non habuerit tot possessiones, quot nunc habet, & eum oportuerit, pro dignitate, pro officio, multos magnosque facere sumptus, paulatim impositum fuit sacerdotiis vacantibus quæ ille conferret, de qua quidem re, ut gravi, sæpe reclamatum fuisse testatur *Henricus Hostiensis* qui cum *Alexandro IV.* pontifice vixit, sic ut *Franciscus Zabarellus* tradit, post hæc in concilio *Viennensi* (quod *Clemens V.* indixit qui factus est pontifex anno salutis humanæ 1305) agitatum fuisse ut, eo deposito ANNATUM onere, vigesima pars vectigalium sacerdotalium penderetur quotannis *Romano* pontifici, & id quidem frustra. Quare pontifex ANNATAS in sua massa retinuit, ut ne indidem exire possent.

*Polydore Virgil*, de invent. rerum, lib. viii. cap. 2.

parliaments, who call it *an unheard of thing*, <sup>25, 47, 51.</sup>  
*a damnable custom newly introduced*, and re- <sup>Edw. III. 4.</sup>  
 present it as the occasion of a great part of <sup>6 Ric. II. 6</sup>  
 the treasure of this realm, being carried to <sup>Hen. IV.</sup>  
 the court of *Rome*, and of impoverishing the  
 several archbishops and bishops. In the ad-  
 dress of the lords and commons, on which  
 the first of these acts is grounded, made in  
 less than twenty years after this tax is said to  
 have been first imposed, its complained, that  
 the pope had them newly set forth the har-  
 dest explanations of the collection of this tax,  
 and which were very prejudicial to the king  
 and kingdom, and the whole church of *Eng-*  
*land*.

25. Of this grievance Dr. *Wicklif* very <sup>Of prelates</sup>  
 loudly complained; he said 'it was *symony* to <sup>MS. cap. 5.</sup>  
 'serve the pope in such a strange travail and  
 'country, and give him gold for his lead,  
 'and the *first fruits* for gift of a church.  
 'When, *saieth he*, a lord hath the gold for  
 'presenting, the gold dwelleth still in our  
 'land; but when the pope hath the *first*  
 '*fruits*, the gold goeth out and cometh ne-  
 'ver again.' And then he proceeds to shew  
 the malice and cursedness of *symony*. Nor  
 was *he* || singular in this opinion of his. We  
 are

|| Nec satis perspicio ut se excusare possint hoc modo promoti  
 a pontifice, quominus in canonum pœnam incurrant, & tanquam  
 vitio creati, ut veteres loquebantur, dignitatem, honoremque,  
 ecclesiasticum amittant, siquis ad priscae institutionis normam  
 potius, quam receptæ consuetudinis, hæc exigere velit.

*Duaren. de beneficiis lib. vi. c. 3.*

*Duarex. de  
beneficiis lib.  
iv. cap. 3.*

\* *Deprivation  
is the penalty  
of simony.*

are told, that it is the opinion of almost all divines and canonists, that the pope is equally obliged with other bishops by the law of \* *symonical ambitus*, if he takes any money for disposing of the sacred ministries of the church: and, that by the council of *Basil*, this kind of tax was condemned, and the pain <sup>k</sup> of *symoniacal ambitus* decreed against those who this way come at the sacred ministries of the church.

26. Our bishop in his defence of himself and the other bishops, thus promoted by the pope, seems to have been misled by the prevailing opinion of this time; that the pope, as universal pastor, had a right to the fruits of all the ecclesiastical benefices in the christian church. For thus his lordship is said to have preached at *Paul's* cross, ' that † bishops ' paying to the pope before they are admitted to ' be bishops 5000 marks, or a greater sum, are ' not guilty of sin on this account, because by ' this payment they do not give any thing to ' the pope, but only make a tender to him of

\* Hic autem ambitus vulgo simoniacus dicitur a *Simone*, quodam apostolorum contemporaneo, qui mirificam illam divinamque vim ac potestatem spiritus sancti gratiam infundendi per manuum impositionem, quam habebant apostoli, ab ipsis emere & mercari voleit. *ibid.* cap. 2.

† Item prædicavit *Londoniis* ad crucem *S. Pauli*, quod episcopi solventes papæ *Romano*, antequam per papam admittantur, ut sint episcopi, quinque millia marcarum seu majorem summam non peccant in hoc, nec hæc solvendo papæ aliquid dant papæ, ut ipse dicit, sed tum tribuunt papæ quod papæ est, sicut tribuit aliquis Ballivus suo domino.

*Gaseigne Dictio. Theolo. MS.*

of what is his own, as a bailiff or steward does, when he accounts or reckons with his lord.' By this it should seem as if it was then generally thought, that the pope had a right to all the benefices of the church, and might in the disposal of them reserve to himself what he thought fit of the profits of them, without being guilty of *symony*, since, as rightful lord of them, he sold only that which was his own: and indeed so far was the power or authority, claimed by the popes, of providing persons to bishopricks and other dignities, when they should become void, by degrees established in this weak and troublesome reign, that the popes seem to have acted in this matter with little or no † opposition, application being generally made to *them*, as if *they* were the undoubted rightful patrons. Infomuch, that as it has been hinted before, *Gascoigne* tells us it was commonly said, that *three* things made a man a bishop in *England*; 1. the will of the king; 2. the will of the pope; and 3. a round sum of money paid into the pope's chamber at *Rome*.

*Consilium de-  
lectorum car-  
dinalium &c.  
de emendanda  
ecclesia, ed.  
169.*

28. Whatever were the effects of this complaint of our bishop's preaching, its plain it did not discourage his lordship from proceeding in his endeavours to vindicate the  
bishops

† ——— Per provisionem factam *Romæ* in diebus meis facti sunt plures episcopi, & abbates & decani sine electione quacunque, excepta electione papæ, quæ vocatur *provisio*.

*Gascoigne* Dictio. Theolo. MS.



bishops and clergy of the established church and to reconcile the dissenting Lollards to it by causing them to have a better opinion of their discipline and governance. Of this I shall give an account in the next chapter.

## C H A P. III.

*An account of a book published by the bishop, entituled, The repressour, &c.*

I. **O**UR bishop was not, it seems, by the offence lately taken at his preaching in vindication of the bishops and conforming clergy, and the trouble given him on that account, made to desist from his attempts to defend the established church from the objections made to her by the dissenting *Lollards*. And therefore in the year 1449, his lordship published a book in *English*, which he entituled, *The repressing of overmuch writing the clergie*, in which his lordship endeavour'd to defend the clergy of the then church of *England*, against the common objections of the followers of Dr. *John Wiclif* then going by the nick name of **Lollardis.**

blaming from  
A. S.  
pitan

**Lowlards, or Lollards.** The design of this book may be seen by what the bishop himself says of the partition or division of it. 'I schal, *says he*, justifie xi governauncis of the clergie whiche summe of the comoun peple unwiisly and untreuli jugen and cōdempnen to be yuele. Of which xi governauncis, oon is the hauvinge and using of ymagis in chirchis; and another is pilgrimage in going to the memorials or the myndeplacis of seintis, and, that pilgrimagis and offeringis mowe be doon weel, not oonli priueli, but also openli; and not oonli so of laymen, but rather of prestis and of bischops. And this schal I do by writing of this present book in the comoun peplis langage, pleynli and openli and schortli, and to be <sup>called</sup> clepid **The Repressing, &c.** and he schal have v principal parties. In the *firste* of whiche parties, schal be maad in *general manner* the seid repressing, and in general maner proof to the xi seid gouernauncis. And in the ii, iii, iiii, and v parties schal be maad in *special manner* the seid repressing, and in special maner the proof to the same xi governauncis'.

2. In the *first part* of this work, where the bishop, as he proposed, makes the repressing in *general manner*, he attacks the main or general principle of the *over-blamers* of the clergy, as the bishop calls them, or as he else where stiles them, of the *bible-men*, which holden

holden them so wise bi the bible|| alone. According to the bishop some of these affirmed; that,

*Repressour*

Part II. c. 1.

3. 'No governaunce is to be holden of christen men, the service or the lawe of GOD, save it which is groundid in holie scripture of the newe testament; whereas others of them maintained, that no governaunce is to be held or accounted of christian men the service or the law of GOD, save it which is groundid in the new testament or in the old, and is not bi the new testament revoked'. Both parties agreed in this, that scripture did not only contain all revealed and super-natural truth, which is absolutely necessary for men to know in this life, that they may be saved in the next; but all things simply, and in such sort, that to do any thing according to any other law, is not only unnecessary, but unlawful and sinful. This they applied to the ecclesiastical politie, or the government and service of the church, to shew, that to use any government or discipline, or to observe any rites or ceremonies which are not grounded in the old or new testament is unlawful. So that the question was, not whether the scriptures of the old and new testament were the law of GOD concerning revealed and super-natural truth, but whether they were to be

our

|| — Talem habebant terminum in omnibus suis dictis semper prætendendo legem dei GODDISLAWE.

*Hen. Knighton, de even. Angliæ col. 2644*

our law in the choice and use of such things as are in their nature indifferent, so, that we may not be sometimes sufficiently guided by the light of reason and the common rules of discretion, and are not bound for every\* thing we do in such matters to have our warrant from some places or other of holy scripture. For however complete the sufficiency of the whole, or entire body of scripture is, it ought to be understood with this caution, that the advantage of the light of nature, or of reason be not excluded, as unnecessary or of no use, because the necessity of a diviner light is magnified. Besides, its plain matter of fact, that the scriptures do not express particularly every thing that is to be done in the church, or in the life of man; the scripture has not expressed every particular ceremony, order, discipline or kind of government that is to be used in the church; which occasioned the great *Erasmus* to wish, that *St. Paul* had treated more copiously and distinctly of those ecclesiastical rites, which he just touches in his two epistles to the *Corinthians*; and shews, as it were through a casement; that he had, at least, explained by whom, at what time, with what worship and ceremony, and with what words that mystical bread, and holy cup of the lord's blood used to be consecrated, whose

\* I say, that the word of God containeth the direction of all things pertaining to the church, yea of whatsoever things can fall into any part of man's life.

*Cartwright's Admonition, page 14. §. 3.*



unworthy treatment, the apostle shews us, occasioned frequent distempers and deaths.

Confi. Arundel  
A.D. 1408

Prologue to the  
Bible MS. C. I.

4. It seems as if these *Bible-Men*, as the bishop calls them, were led to this extravagant opinion of the scripture's sufficiency, thro' an opposition to the schools of *Rome*, who had now carried the authority of the church, or the significancy of its determinations to an unjustifiable height, equalling them with the determinations of holy scripture; providing, that none should either publickly or privately bring them into dispute; and making it heresy to impugn† them; for Dr. *Wiclif*'s followers had allowed, 'that men might accept man's law and ordinances when they were grounded in *holy scripture*, or *good reason*, or were for the *common profit of christian people*.'

5. Our bishop therefore shewed them, that in opposing *this*, they themselves ran into a dangerous extreme; that the law of nature or reason as it is before all scripture, so it is not grounded thereon, but rather the scripture is grounded on *that*, tho' its rules and precepts may in part be conveyed to us by scripture, but not so fully as by rational searches and deep study; from whence he inferr'd, that men may be obliged to some duties and practices, as taught by the law of nature or reason, of which no mention is to be found made in the bible.

† ——— Non solum hæresis incurritur ex hoc quod aliquis impugnat articulos fidei, sed etiam si impugnet ea quæ sunt determinata per ecclesiam, licet non concernant articulos fidei.

*Lindwood* Provenci.

bible. For this purpose the bishop laid down the following conclusions, which I shall repeat in his lordship's own words.

*First*, 'it longith not to holi scripture, neithir  
' it is his office into which GOD hath him *Repreffour*  
' ordeyned†, neither it is his part for to grounde *Part II. c. 2.*  
' eny governaunce or deede or service of GOD,  
' or eny lawe of GOD, or eny trouthe which  
' mannis refoun bi nature may fynde, leerne,  
' and knowe.'

This the bishop defends in the following manner ;

' 1. Scripture does not contain all that is  
' necessary for the grounding or supporting of  
' moral vertues, and therefore is not properly  
' the foundation on which they stand.——  
' There may nothing be fundament or ground  
' of a wal, or of a tree, or of an house, save  
' it upon which the al hool substaunce of the  
' wal, or of the tree, or of the house stondith,  
' and out of which oonli the wal, tree, or  
' house cometh.'

F 2

2.

† Two opinions there are concerning the sufficiency of holy scripture, each extremely opposite unto the other, and both repugnant unto truth. The schools of *Rome* teach scripture to be insufficient, as if, except traditions were added, it did not contain all revealed and supernatural truth, which absolutely is necessary for the children of men in this life to know, that they may in the next be saved. Others justly condemning this opinion, grow likewise unto a dangerous extremity, as if scripture did not only contain all things in that kind necessary, but all things simply, and in such sort, that to do any thing according to any other law were not only unnecessary, but even opposite unto salvation, unlawful and sinful.

*Hooker's Eccles. Pol. Lib. II. §. 8.*

cap. 3.

Inter frag-  
menta in bib-  
lio Bodlei,  
MS.

2. That is properly the foundation, which is alone sufficient for the purpose, as natural reason in this case is. ' Al the leernyng and ' knowing which holi scripture geueth upon ' eny biforesaid gouernaunce, deed, or trouthe ' of GODDIS moral lawe mai be had bi doom ' of natural resoun, ghe thoug holi writt had ' not spoken therof, &c. These reasons the bishop elsewhere thus expresses; ' a truth is ' not known,' saith he, ' which is not known ' either of itself, or in its ground from whence ' it proceeds and comes, and into which it may ' be resolved and reduced. Now because of ' all conclusions of written truths, about which ' any care is to be taken, or which are of any ' importance, there are only four grounds, viz. ' the judgment of reason for a philosophical ' truth; a positive constitution for a juridical ' one; the text of holy scripture, in its probable sense, for a truth of orthodox faith; ' and history for the truth of an historical fact; ' it ought to follow, that every matter doubted ' of, whether it be a matter of philosophy, ' law, divinity or history, it is necessary, if ' a true knowledge be to be had of that matter, that it be run up thither where it fundamentally lies, and as it were sprung from ' the root; and we ought to see how they ' stand according to their principles, and fundamental undoubted evidences, and accordingly to form a judgment of them.' This reasoning his lordship thus applys, ' Christ says

pius & compatiens Christus.

says he, ' has revealed to us politicks or governances which human reason of itself alone could never have found out, so as to know and appoint them, and we hold them by faith, as experience will teach any one, who enquires into and examines each of them. But all, or almost all, practical governances necessary to be known, and instituted for the salvation of souls, to the finding and establishing of which human reason can attain, *Christ* has left to the wisdom of his church to find out and constitute, and has not himself revealed nor appointed them.'

3. The moral lawe or judgment of natural C. 4.  
reason was whanne neither of the newe, neither of the old testament the writing was, and that fro' the time of *Adam*, &c.

4. ' The most that scripture does, is only to remind, exhort, stir up, command or counsel to the practice of moral vertue; which supposes the thing to have been before known,' " for he biddith a man to be meke||, C. 5-  
F 3 and

|| Thus a celebrated pen of the present age: ' There is nothing new in the christian institution but matters of faith; there are no new vices forbidden, nor new virtues commanded; the prohibitions of the one and the injunctions of the other are again indeed enforced by revelation, but without that, we are by the moral law under the same obligations, and the same confinements. And it is observable, when the scriptures recommend chastity, temperance, justice and mercy, they never give any definition of those virtues, but barely name them, supposing the world was acquainted with their nature, and that the observance of them, as well as the forbearance of the contrary vices, were the dictates of the light of reason, and the result of the moral nature of things.

*Essay upon the laws of nature, by Sir Richard Blackmore.*



" and he techith not bifore what mekenes is;  
 " he biddith a man to be pacient, and yit he  
 " not bifore techith what pacience is; and fo  
 " forthe of ech vertu of GODDIS law.  
 " Wherefore no fuch feid governaunce, or  
 " vertue, or trouthe is to be feid groundid in  
 " holi fcripture, no more than it oughte be  
 " feid if a bifhop woulde fende a piftle or a  
 " lettre to peple of his diocife, and theryn  
 " wolde remember hem, exhorte hem, and  
 " ftirre hem, and bidde hem, or counfeile  
 " hem, for to keepe certayn moral vertues,  
 " &c."

C. 6.

His lordfhip ufes a fifth and fixth argument  
 much to the fame purpofe with this fourth.  
 In the conclufion he has the following com-  
 parifon, which fets forth his notion in a live-  
 ly way, and which I have tranfcribed, for the  
 account it gives of an old custom in the city of  
*London*, on *Midsummer-eve*, in our bifhop's  
 time. ' Seie to me, good Sire, and anfwere  
 ' hereto; whanne men of the cuntree, uplond  
 ' bringen into *Londoun* in *Mydsomer-eve*\*  
 ' braunchis of trees fro *Bifchopis-Wode*, and  
 ' flouris fro the feeld, and bitaken tho to cit-  
 ' effins of *Londoun*, for to therwith araie her  
 ' houfis, fchulen men of *Londoun* receyving  
 ' and taking tho braunchis and flouris, feie and  
 ' holde

\* A watch used to be kept in the city of *London* on *Midsum-*  
*mer* night, to prevent, I fuppofe, the diforders committed by  
 this rabble, and was firft laid down 20 *Hen. VIII.* when Sir  
*James Spencer* was mayor; when, I fuppofe, this foolifh cus-  
 tom was difcontinued. *Hall's Chro. Fol. 181. b.*

' holde, that tho' braunchis grewen out of  
 ' the cartis which broughten hem to *Londoun*,  
 ' and, that tho' cartis, or the hondis of the  
 ' bringers weren groundis and fundamentis of  
 ' tho' braunchis and flouris? GODDIS for-  
 ' bode so litel witt be in her hedis. Certis  
 ' thoug *Crist* and his apostlis weren now lyv-  
 ' yng at *Londoun*, and wolde bringe, so as is  
 ' now seid, braunchis fro *Bischopis-wode*,  
 ' and flouris fro the feelde into *Londoun*, and  
 ' wolden hem delyvere to men, that thei make  
 ' therewith her housis gay into remembraunce  
 ' of Seint *Johnn Baptist*, and of this that it  
 ' was prophecied of him, that *manye schulden*  
 ' *joie in his burtbe* : yet tho men of *Londoun*, Luke i. 14.  
 ' receyvyng so tho braunchis and flouris,  
 ' oughten not seie and <sup>b</sup>feele, that tho braun- understand  
 ' chis and flouris grewen out of *Christis* hondis  
 ' and out of the apostlis hondis——Tho'  
 ' braunchis grewen out of the bowis upon  
 ' whiche thei in *Bischopis-wode* stoden, and  
 ' tho bowis grewen out of stockis or tronchons,  
 ' and the tronchons or schaftis grewen out of  
 ' the roote, and the roote out of the next erthe  
 ' therto, upon whiche and in whiche the  
 ' roote is buried. So that neither the cart,  
 ' neither the hondis of the bringers, neither  
 ' tho bringers ben the groundis or fundamentis  
 ' of tho' braunchis.'

' 6. The *secunde* principal conclusioun and C. 7.  
 ' trouthe is this; thoug it perteyne not to holi  
 ' scripture, for to grounde eny natural or mo-

*c Nature*  
*a that*  
 'ral governaunce, or trouthe into whos fynd-  
 ' yng, leernyng and knowyng mannis resoun  
 ' may bi himsilf and bi natural help com, as  
 ' it is open now bifore;—Yit it mai perteyne  
 ' weel ynoug to holi scripture, that he reherce  
 ' such now seid governauncis and treuthis, and,  
 ' that he witnesse hem as grounded sumwhere  
 ' ellis in the law of 'kinde, or doom of mannis  
 ' resoun. And so he dooth, as to ech reder  
 ' thereyn it mai be opene, that by 'thilk re-  
 ' hercing and witnesfying so doon by holi scrip-  
 ' ture to men, tho men schulden be bothe  
 ' remembrid, stirid, provokid, and eortid for  
 ' to the rathir performe and fulfille the same  
 ' so rehercid and witnesfid governauncis and  
 ' trouthis.'

C. 8.

*c Nature*  
*f judgment*  
 ' 7. The *iiid* principal conclusion is this†.  
 ' The hool office and werk into which GOD  
 ' ordeyned holy scripture, is for to grounde  
 ' articlis of feith, and for to reherce and wit-  
 ' nesle moral trouthis of ‡lawe of 'kind groun-  
 ' ded in moral philsofie; that is to seie, in  
 ' 'doom of resoun, that the reders be remem-  
 ' brid, stirrid and exortid bi so miche the bet-  
 ' ter and the more, and the sooner for to ful-  
 ' fille hem. Of whiche articlis of feith summe  
 ben

† The law of GOD, tho' principally delivered for instruction, in supernatural duties, is yet fraught with precepts of those that are natural. The scripture is fraught even with laws of nature.

Hooker's Eccles. Poli. Lib. I. §. 12.

‡ The law of reason or human nature, is that which men by discourse of natural reason, have rightly found out themselves to be all for ever bound unto in their actions. *Ibid.* Lib. I. §. 8.

' ben not lawis, as these ; that GOD made  
 ' heven and erthe in the bigynnyng of tyme ;  
 ' and, that *Adam* was the firste man, and  
 ' *Eve* was the firste womman; and, that *Moi-*  
 ' *ses* ladde the peple of *Israel* out of *Egipt*, and,  
 ' that *Zacharie* was fadir and *Elizabeth* was  
 ' modir of *Jobnn Baptist* ; and, that *Crist*  
 ' fastid xl. daies, and so forth of many like.  
 ' And summe othere ben lawis ; as, that ech  
 ' man ougte be baptisid in water if he may  
 ' come thereto ; and, that ech man ougte to  
 ' be 'hosilid if he may come thereto.'

receive the  
 Lord's-Supper.

A. S.

hurl.

' 8. The iiii principal conclusioun ; it is not  
 ' the office longing to moral lawe of kinde,  
 ' for to grounde eny article of feith, groundid C. 8.  
 ' bi holi scripture. For whial that the now  
 ' seid moral lawe of kinde, or moral philso-  
 ' phie, groundith, is groundid by doom of  
 ' mannis resoun; and therefore is such a treuthe  
 ' and a conclusioun that into his fynding, leern-  
 ' yng, and knowing, mannis witt mai, by it-  
 ' self aloone, or bi natural helpis withoute re-  
 ' velacioun fro GOD, rise and suffice. But so  
 ' it is, that noon article of feith mai be groun-  
 ' did in doom of resoun sufficientli, neither  
 ' into his finding, learning, and knowing ;  
 ' mannis resoun bi itself, and bi natural help,  
 ' may rise and suffice, without therto maad  
 ' revelatioun, or affirming from GOD. For  
 ' whi thane feith were no feith.

' 9. The v principal conclusion. Thoug C. 8.  
 ' neither the seide moral law of kinde, neither  
 out-



' outward bokis thereof writen, mowe grounde  
 ' eny trouthe or conclusioun of verry feith;  
 ' git tho outward bokis, as cristene men hem  
 ' maken, mowe weel ynow reherce and wit-  
 ' nesse trouthis and conclusions of feith  
 ' groundid bfore in holi scripture. For whi;  
 ' it is no more repugnant, that bokis of moral  
 ' philosophie reherce trouthis and conclusiouns  
 ' propre to the grounding of holy scripture,  
 ' than, that bokis of holi scripture reherce  
 ' trouthis and conclusions propre to the  
 ' grounding of moral philosophie.'

C. 8.

' The vi principal conclusioun. The hool  
 ' office and werk into which ben ordeyned the  
 ' bokis of moral philosophie, writen and maad  
 ' bi cristen men in the maner now bfore spo-  
 ' ken, is to expresse outwardli bi writing of  
 ' pene and ynke, the treuthis and conclusions  
 ' which the inward book of lawe of kind,  
 ' beried in mannis soule and herte, groundith;  
 ' and for to reherce summe treuthis and con-  
 ' clusiouns of feith longing to the grounding  
 ' of holi scripture, thet the reders be the more  
 ' and the oftir remembrid, and stirrid, and ex-  
 ' ortid by this rehercing, &c.

C. 8.

' The vii principal conclusioun. The more  
 ' deal and party of GODDIS hool lawe to man  
 ' in erthe, and that bi an huge gret quantite  
 ' over the remanent parts of the same lawe, is  
 ' groundid sufficiently, out of holi scripture,  
 ' in the inward book of lawe of kind and of  
 ' moral philosophie, and not in the book of  
 ' holi scripture.'

10. 'The viii principal conclusioun. No C. 9.  
 'man mai leerne and <sup>k</sup>kunne the hool lawe <sup>k</sup>know  
 'of GOD, to which cristen men ben bounde,  
 'but if he <sup>1</sup>can of moral philosophie; and the <sup>1</sup>know  
 'more that he can in moral philosophie, bi so  
 'muche the more he can of GODDIS law  
 'and service. This conclusioun folewith out  
 'of the *seventh* conclusioun openly ynoug.'

11. 'The ix conclusioun: No man schul- C. 9.  
 'len perfitly, sureli, and sufficientli undirstonde  
 'holi scripture in alle tho placis wherynn  
 'he rehercith moral virtues—but if he be bi-  
 'fore weel, and perfitli, fuerli, and sufficient-  
 'li leerned in moral philosophie.—This con-  
 'clusioun folewith out of the vii and the viii  
 'conclusiouns'.

12. 'The x conclusioun. The leernyng C. 9.  
 'and kunnyng of the seid law of kinde, and  
 'of the seide moral philosophie, is so neces-  
 'sarie to cristen men, that it mai not be  
 'lackid of them if thei schulen perfitli serve  
 'to GOD, and kepe his lawe <sup>m</sup>bitake to hem <sup>m</sup>delivered  
 'in erthe.'

13. 'The xi conclusioun. Ful weel ougten C. 9.  
 'alle perfoones of the lay-parti, not miche  
 'leerned in moral philosophie and lawe of kinde  
 'for to make miche of clerkis weel leerned in  
 'moral philosophie, that tho clerkis schulden  
 'helpe tho lay perfoones, for to arigt undir-  
 'stonde holi scripture in alle tho placis in  
 'whiche holi scripture rehercith the bifore  
 'spoken conclusiouns and treuthis of moral  
 phil-

‘ philosophie, that is to seie of lawe of kinde,  
 ‘ For whi, withoute tho clerkis so leerned in  
 ‘ moral philosophie, and withoute her direc-  
 ‘ cioun, the now seid lay persoones schulen not  
 ‘ esili, lightli and anoon have the dew undir-  
 ‘ stonding of holi scripture in the now seid  
 ‘ placis.’

C. 9.

▪ introduction

14. The xii conclusioun. Ful weel ougten  
 ‘ alle persoones of the lay-parti, not leerned  
 ‘ ougwhere ellis bi the now seid clerkis, or bi  
 ‘ othere bokis of moral philosophie, for to make  
 ‘ miche of bokis maad to hem in her modires  
 ‘ langage whiche be clepid thus. *The “donet*  
 ‘ *into cristen religioun; the sokker to the donet;*  
 ‘ *the book of cristen religioun*, namelich the  
 ‘ first parti fro the begynnyng of the iii treti  
 ‘ forthward. *The book filling the iiij tablis;*  
 ‘ *The book of worschiping;* The book clepid  
 ‘ *the provoker of cristen men; the book of coun-*  
 ‘ *ceiles*, and othir mo pertenyng to the now  
 ‘ seid book of cristen religioun.——— Wolde  
 ‘ GOD men wolden not be bi so miche the  
 ‘ frowarder, and the more presumptuose, that  
 ‘ goodnes is to hem thus profrid. Wolde  
 ‘ GOD, that thei wolden assaie perfitli what  
 ‘ tho’ now seid bokis ben, and wolden weel  
 ‘ ‘kunne hem, and thane if thei schulden  
 ‘ have eny cause for to blame or commend tho  
 ‘ bokis, that thanne firste thei wolden blame  
 ‘ or commende.’

° know or  
 understand

C. 10.

15. The xiii conclusioun. Thei that wo-  
 ‘ len aske and saie thus; *Where fyndist thou it*  
 groundid.

' *gronndid in holi scripture?* as thoug ellis it  
 ' is not worthi to be take for trewe, whanne-  
 ' ever eny governaunce or treuthe sufficientli  
 ' groundid in lawe of kinde, and in moral  
 ' philsofie is affermed and mynystrid to hem,  
 ' (as ben many of tho xi gouernauncis and  
 ' treuthis, whiche schullen be treatid aftir in  
 ' this present book; which ben *setting up of*  
 ' *ymagis in bige placis of the bodili churche;*  
 ' *pilgrimages doon priveli; and pilgrimages*  
 ' *doon openli by lay-men and bi prestis, and bi*  
 ' *bischopis unto the memorialis or mynde-placis*  
 ' *of seintis, and the endowing of priestis bi ren-*  
 ' *tis and bi unmoueable possessiouns, and such*  
 ' *othere*) asken tho whilis in <sup>p</sup>liik maner un- <sup>p</sup>like  
 ' resonabili and liik unskilfulli, and liik re-  
 ' prouabli, as if thei wolden aske and sei thus:  
 ' Where findest thou it groundid in holi scrip-  
 ' ture, whanne a treuthe and a conclusioun of  
 ' grammer is affermed and seid to hem, &c.

16. By this account of the positions main-  
 tained by the bishop in this book of his, its  
 plain his lordship's design was to shew, that  
 those men are in a great error who make the  
 holy scripture the sole rule of all humane acti-  
 ons whatsoever. An error for the maintenance  
 whereof, there was never yet produced any  
 piece of an argument, either from reason, or  
 from authority of holy writ, or from the tes-  
 timony either of the ancient fathers, or of other  
 classcal divines of latter times; which may  
 not be clearly and abundantly answered, to  
 the

Bishop San-  
derfon's Ser-  
mons.



the satisfaction of any rational man not extremely fore-possessed with prejudice. The law of nature and of right reason *imprinted in mens hearts*, as the apostle expressed himself, or, according to our bishop, *buried in their souls and hearts*, is as truly the law and word of GOD, as is that which is printed in our bibles.

Dem. Evan.  
Lib. II. C. 2.

de corr. ec.  
c. 4.

prima secundæ  
quæst. 99. art.  
2.

*Eusebius* stiles christianity, παλαιότατον ευσεβείας πολιτεύμα και αρχαιοτάτη τις φιλοσοφία.

*Tertullian* observes *Nec differt scriptura a ratione consistat*. *Thomas Aquinas*, who flourished in the 13th century, thus taught ;

‘ that the old law is distinguished from the law of nature, not as altogether different from it, but as superadding something to it. For as grace presupposes nature, so must a divine law presuppose a natural one. That man’s reason about the moral precepts, so far as they are the commonest precepts of the law of nature, could not err *in universali*, though through a habit of sinning, it might be obscured *in particularibus agendis*. That even among the things to be believed, there are proposed to us not only those things to which reason cannot attain, but also those to which it can.’

17. In the *four* remaining parts of this book, the bishop proceeds, according to the method he had set down at the beginning, *in special manner* to repress the *Wiclifists* overblaming the clergy, by answering the objections, made by them, to the eleven governances

or

or usages of the church with which they found fault, and making proof to the same xi governances. Those of them which he here considers are these *six*. 1. The using of images in churchis. 2. Pilgrimage. 3. The possessions of the clergy. 4. Divers orders or degrees of clergy. 5. The primacy of St. *Peter* and his successors. 6. The religious,

18. As to the first of these, *Erasmus* observed, that there was this difference betwixt the state of the church in his time, and that of the primitive church; 'that whereas for  
' some ages it was thought an abominable thing  
' for a painted or engraven image to be seen  
' in the churches of christians; *then* the use of  
' images was carried to that height, that it not  
' only exceeded all bounds, but was even far  
' from being decent; since *there* were to be  
' seen in churches such unseemly paintings as  
' were in porticos and taverns. However by  
' degrees it came to be believed, that in these  
' images|| there was a revelation of the real pre-  
' sence of the saints whose images they were,  
' and, that the saints assisted and were perso-  
' nally present, physically with them. Inso-  
' much, that in the *second* council of *Nice*,  
cele-

*Epistola*, lib.  
31. ep. 47.  
ed. *London*,  
1642.

|| ——— Dicendum fit concessum deiparæ dominæ privilegi-  
legium assistendi *physice & realiter* in aliquibus suis simulachris  
seu imaginibus——quod in aliquibus simulachris, seu imagi-  
nibus insignibus ipsius, *pie* credatur *assistere*, *adesseque personaliter*  
*physice & realiter*——ut in illis debitas adorationes recipiat  
a fidelibus cultoribus. R. P. *Petri de Medrano*, &c. *Rosetum*  
*Theologicum*, p. 311. *Hispani Ann.* 1702.

‘celebrated *A.D.* 787. it was decreed, that an  
 ‘honorary worship was to be paid to the life-  
 ‘giving cross of Christ, the images of the  
 ‘blessed virgin, of the angels, and saints, and,  
 ‘that they ought to be honoured with kisses,  
 ‘and the offering of lights and incense, tho’  
 ‘not with that true worship which pertains to  
 ‘the divine nature alone.’ But how contrary  
 this was to the faith and practice of the then  
 church of *England*, may be observed from the  
 account given us of the sending this synodical  
 decree into *England*, by our annalist *Roger de*  
*Hoveden*; *Charles* king of the *Francks*, says  
*he*, sent over into *Britain*, a synodical book  
 directed to him from *Constantinople*, in which  
 book were found many things inconsistent with  
 and contrary to the true faith; but especially  
 it was decreed by the unanimous consent of  
 almost all the eastern doctors, however of not  
 less than 300 or more bishops, that images  
 ought to be adored, *quod omnino ecclesia dei ex-*  
*ecratur*, which the church of GOD utterly  
 abominates. *Mat. of Westminster* adds, that  
*Albinus* wrote a wonderful letter against this  
 decree of the councils, and together with the  
 synodical book which had been sent hither,  
 carried to the *French* king in the names of the  
 bishops and princes of the realm. This shews  
 what a sense they had of this decree, and  
 how resolved they were not to receive it.

19. When carved or graven images were  
 first introduced into the churches of *England*,  
 nd

*Annales pars*  
*prior A.D.*  
*791. Matt.*  
*West. A. D.*  
*793.*

*Alwinus.*

and honoured with a religious worship, I am not certain. But by what has been observed of the *French*, and particularly of the *Normans*, that they were very fond of the worship of images, and therefore separated from their bishops, because they were so far from indulging them in their humour of setting up more images in their churches, that they pulled down those which were already there; it seems, that tho' the *English* had in their churches the pictures of saints, and representations of the sacred history, they had no graven or molten images, nor paid any sort of adoration to them, till they were here introduced by the *Normans* after the conquest: Then indeed there were images set up in churches, and the people were taught to light candles before them, to creep to them, and kneel before them, to kiss and deck them with gay garments, and to pray and offer to them. They had images in the body of the church, and the image of the saint to whom the church was dedicated, in the high chancel over the high altar, besides the image of *Christ* on the cross called the *roode*, or the *rood Mary*\* and *John*, because, I suppose, of the carved images of the blessed virgin and that disciple standing

*Inetts Ori.*  
*Anglicanæ*  
*Vol. I. p. 210*  
*&c.*

*Ab. Cranmer's*  
*articles of vi-*  
*sitation, &c.*

*Lymwood's*  
*provinci. p.*  
*252, 253.*

\* *Item*, paid a joiner in *Canterbury* for making s. d.  
the rood *Mary* and *John*, and painting the  
same ————— xi 0

For setting up the rood *Mary* and *John* and for  
paper and thread to trusse the same ————— i 6

*Church-Book of Crundal in Kent.*

G

at.



*Rituale Romanum.*

*History, &c. of the isle of Tenet, p. 31, 35, 41, 45, 62, 100, 115.*

*Perambulation of Kent, &c. p. 228.*

at the bottom of the cross as they are commonly pictured. These images were solemnly blessed by a prayer to GOD, in which it was rehearsed, that, 'he did not condemn ' the carving or painting the images of his ' saints; and he was prayed to bless and sanctify that particular image, and to grant, that ' whosoever shall humbly kneel before it, and ' desire to worship, and honour the saint represented by it, may by that saint's merits ' and attainments obtain from him grace for ' the present, and eternal glory for the future.'

After which the images were sprinkled with holy water. To these images, their altars and the lights burning before them†, legacies used to be left; these were sometimes in money, viz. 2d. ivd. vid. viiid. &c. sometimes wax, barley, &c. Legacies were likewise left to purchase palls for the several altars, and towels, &c. for the roode. To persuade the common people, that the saints were personally present with these their images, or however with some of them, the images, were so contrived as to move their eyes, &c. and to seem to change their countenances, to weep, smile, &c. witness the crucifix, commonly called the *rood of grace*, at *Boxley in Kent*, 'which,' according to Mr. *Lambard's* description of it, 'was able to bow down and ' lift up itself, to shake and stir the hands and ' feet,

† *Lego ymagini crucifixi ibidem 6d. Item, Altari beate Marie 6d. Item, ymagini Katherine ibidem 3d. Ult. Test. Alice Pocock de St. Nicolao in Taneto. 1396.*

‘ feet, to nod the head, to roll the eyes, to  
 ‘ wag the chops, to bend the brows, and final-  
 ‘ ly to represent to the eye both the proper  
 ‘ motion of each member of the body, and  
 ‘ also a lively, expresse and significant shew of  
 ‘ a well contented, or displeased mind ; biting  
 ‘ the lip, and gathering a frowning. froward,  
 ‘ and disdainful face, when it would pretend  
 ‘ offence ; and shewing a most mild, amiable  
 ‘ and smiling cheer and countenance, when  
 ‘ it would seeme to be well pleased.’ All

which was performed by wyers, &c. as was  
 publickly shewn at St. Pauls, where this image  
 was taken to pieces, before a multitude of peo-  
 ple there assembled. Much the same account

is given us by *Peter de Medrano*, a *Spanish* *Rosetum theo-*  
 jesuit, of the images of our lady *del Aviso*, and *logicum sco-*  
 of *Pity* in the colleges of *Lima*, and *Callaya* *lasticum, &c.*  
 in *Peru*, which he says, *non semel in miracu-* *Hispali. 1702.*  
*losum sudorem, lacrymasque resolutæ sunt.* P. 311.

But above all, he tells us, is the miraculous image  
 of our lady *del Rosario*, the patroness of the  
 royal city of *Lima*, and of the whole circuit  
 of *Peru*, which is in the famous temple of the  
*Dominicans*, which, as he describes it, *sæpe*  
*refulsit auricomis solaribus radiis ; atque in va-*  
*rios aspectus, veneratione, amore, & timore*  
*dignos, divinum vultum transmutavit :* no  
 doubt of it, by the same miracle that the  
*roode of grace* changed its countenance, and  
 either looked cross or pleasant, as its keepers

were pleased or displeased with the offerings of its superstitious worshippers.

20. They had likewise images of the holy trinity, two of which I have represented in the adjoining cuts, taken from the *Salisbury* primer. All which the followers of *Wicliff* condemned as favouring of idolatry†. Thus they expressed themselves in a little book which they presented to the parliament 18 *Richard II. A.D.* 1394. 'The prayers and offerings made to ' blind crosses or roodys, and deaf images of ' wood and stone are near akin to ydolatry, ' and far from charity. And although those ' prohibited and imaginary things are a book of ' error to the lay people, the usual image of ' the trinity is most abominable.' From hence they inferr'd, that, ' the service of the cross ' performed twice a year in the church of ' *England*, is full of ydolatrie.' They added, that, if those nails with which *Christ* was fastened to the cross, and the spear which pierced his side, ought to be so highly honoured

*Life of Dr.*  
*John Wiclif*  
p. 31.

† In how great peril of idolatry the members of the *Romish* communion are, or they who join in the religious service of that corrupt church, appears very plain from the following rubric, in the canon of the mass in the manual after the use of *Sarum*, printed at *Antwerp* 1542—. *Hic erigat sacerdos manus & conjungat, & postea tergat digitos & elevet hostiam parumper; ita quod videatur a populo, & sic debet tenere quosque dixerit verba consecrationis; quia si ante consecrationem elevetur & populo ostendatur, sicut fatui sacerdotes, faciunt populum idolatrare adorando panem purum tanquam corpus Christi.*——But now the words of consecration are ordered to be pronounced secretly, so that it is impossible for the people to know whether the bread be consecrated or not,



Salisbury Prim.



Bp. Bonner's  
profitable and  
necessary doc-  
trine, &c.  
1555.

'noured as they were, then should the lips of  
' *Judas*, which kissed *Christ*, if one could have  
' them, be very good reliques.' What they  
called the *usual image* || of the trinity, is  
the first of these two figures, where the  
three divine persons are represented by a man's  
face seen in a prism, where it appears treble.  
Now it was pretended, that, ' the catholike  
' church hath alwayes, even from the begyn-  
' nyng, put greate difference betweene an *idol*  
' and an *image*, utterly abhorryng and detesting  
' the one, and devoutly and godly receyuinge  
' and allowing the other. Since, the ori-  
' gynalls, first formes and patternes of idoles,  
' to represent by are very untrue and clerely  
' false ; whereas the originals, first formes or  
' paternes of the ymages to represent the very  
' thing signified by them, are faithful and  
' true.' But if this distinction be allowed, this  
representation of the holy trinity\* must be an  
*idol*,

|| That of one head with three faces, or one body with three  
heads, *Molanus* saith, is much more common than the other,  
and is wont to be set before the office of the holy trinity. It  
seems as if the famous Dr. *Michael Servetus* had this image in  
his thoughts, when he stiled the trinity a three headed *Cerberus*.

\* It were better for them, the papists, to erect altars to an  
unknown God, than to make those *absurd, scandalous, and*  
*horrible representations* of the mysteries of the trinity ; from  
whence some of the anti-trinitarians have taken occasion to ex-  
pose that sacred mystery to scorn and contempt, and have pub-  
lished a book on purpose to set forth the images of the trinity,  
which are publickly seen and allowed in the *Roman church*—  
*Molanus* and *Thyræus* mention four sorts of images of the trinity  
that have been used in the *Roman church*. They might, if they  
had pleased, have mentioned near as many more. See *Pilgri-*  
*mage of Perfection*, printed by *de Worde*, 1531. *Missale Romanum*.  
*Antwerp*, MDCCLII.

*idol*, since no one dares to say, that this is a faithful and true representation of the divine originals. But to proceed,

21. The *service of the cross*, here mentioned, as performed twice a year, is that done on the two festivals of the *invention* and *exaltation* of the holy cross, *viz.* on *May 3*, and *September 14*, on which, according to the present *Roman breviary*, the cross is invoked to save the present congregation that day assembled in his praises.

22. Dr. *Wiclif* himself thought, that ' tho Life of Dr. Wiclif, &c. P. 349.  
' images which truly represented the poverty  
' and passion of *Jesus Christ*, and other saints  
' were lawful, and the books of ignorant men ;  
' and might be worshiped in a manner, as for  
' signs of saints, or as books of ignorant men,  
' or as a wife kepeth cherly her wedding ring  
' for love of her husband, yet false images  
' that represented worldly pride and glory, as  
' if *Christ* and other saints had lived thus, and  
' deserved blis by pompe and glory of the  
' world, were false books, and to be amended  
' or burnt as books of open heresy, against the  
' christian faith, that to worship them as  
' *Christ* or his saints was plain idolatry ; that  
' neither *Christ* nor his apostles commanded  
' nor counselled such images to be made ; and,  
' that if simple or ignorant people did idolatry  
' by them, in placing their hope or trust in  
' them, or giving the honour to them, that  
' is due to GOD alone, as swearing by them,

*Repressor* p. 2.  
c. 2.

‘or offering to them, they should be broken  
‘or burnt.’

befooled

warn

23. Bishop *Pecock* in justifying this governance, and shewing, that the lay people over-myche and untreuly blamed the clergy, on account of the having and using of images, no way pretended to plead for the costly adorning of them, and the offerings made to them, or for peoples giving the honour to them, that is due to GOD only. So far from it, that he owns, ‘rebuke is given in scripture to men  
‘which taken and holden graven images to  
‘be their gods; that *Salomon* was so miche  
‘afonned, masid, and dotid that he worschipped those ydolis as gods; that ymagis mowe  
‘leefulli be broke, whan thei ben usid in ydolatrie irremediabli, for so it was in the caas  
‘of the brasen serpent in the time of *Ezechie*; that, at the leeste, ymagis mowe leefulli be  
‘broken whanne more harme irremediabli cometh by the havynge and using of them,  
‘than is all the good which cometh bi the havynge and using of them; that more than  
‘this cometh not forth by this proces of *Ezechie* iiii *Reg.* xviii. and, that therefore the  
‘proces is over feble, for to weerne ymagis to be had and usid whanne thei ben had and  
‘usid without ydolatrie, or with ydolatrie remediable, or with other harm remediable,  
‘nameliche lasse than is the good comynge bi the uce of the ymagis.’ Now ydolatrie, the bishop observed, ‘was never doon save whanne

' a man took a creature for his GOD, and  
 ' worschipid thilk creature as for his GOD.  
 ' But so saith he, no persoon dooth in these  
 ' daies aboute the ymagis had and usid in the  
 ' chirche, astir that the man is come into yeeris  
 ' of discretioun, and is passid childhoode, and  
 ' which is net a natural foole. As to the othir  
 ' objections against the use of ymagis, *viz.*  
 ' that the peple trowen or beleeven summe  
 ' wrong and untrewen opiniouns by occasion of  
 ' ymagis, as, that sum godli vertue is in the  
 ' ymagis, or, that tho ymagis doon myraclis,  
 ' or that thei ben quyke, and seen, heeren, *alive*  
 ' or speken at sum while, or that thei sweten  
 ' at sum while; that ymagis ben occasiouns  
 ' of sume moral vicis in the peple, as of over  
 ' myche worschipping doon to them, of pride,  
 ' or of covetise, or of suche othere: These  
 his lordship reckoned *remediable harms*, and  
 therefore not sufficient for to reprove and  
 weern the said having and using of images.  
 He therefore maintained, that ' the having  
 ' and setting up of ymagis in churchis, and  
 ' the using of them as rememoratif or mynd-  
 ' ing signes is not reprov'd bi eny ground of  
 ' feith; that is to seie, not bi holi scripture,  
 ' neither bi long use of the chirchis bilieving,  
 ' neithir bi eny miraculose therto of GOD's  
 ' wirching: And concluded, that the agen-  
 ' seiers hereof were to be reiated<sup>d</sup>, and re-<sup>d</sup> *chidden*  
 ' bukid as nyce, fonn'd, waful, wantoun,  
 ' scisme sowers, and disturblers of the peple,  
 in



'in maters which thei mowe never her entent  
'bring about.'

24. By this we may see, that so far were our bishop and the *Wiclifists* agreed, that images were not in themselves absolutely unlawful, but, that they might be honoured and respected as the signs and memorials of those we regarded or esteemed. They differed in their notions of idolatry, and consequently in the reasons for removing and abolishing them. The bishop thought, that idolatry consisted in *taking a creature for GOD, and worshipping that creature for his GOD*, a fancy, that, our bishop truly observes, no man can entertain that is not a natural fool. Even the heathens, *who changed the glory of the incorruptible GOD, into an image made like to corruptible man*, were not such fools as to take that corruptible image for the *incorruptible GOD*. Thus *Celsus*, *who but an utter fool believes these images to be Gods, and not their ανθηματα and αγαλματα, or statues dedicated to them?* Whereas Dr. *Wiclif's* notion of idolatry was, that it is setting hope or putting trust in images, or giving the honour to them that is due to GOD alone, as swearing by them, and offering to them; and this he thought a sufficient reason for the destroying of images. 'If,' says he, 'Ezekie the blessid king brake the brasene serpent commaundid of GOD to be maad, for, or because the peple gaf to it inscense and honour due to GOD alone,'

Bp. *Stillingfleet's* idolatry of the church of Rome.

Life of Dr. *Wiclif*, p. 350.

*'alone, as it is open in the iiii boke of kingis,  
'the xviii chap. how mucche more should a  
'christian king with assent of his lords and true  
'clergie break or burne dumb idols, if the sim-  
'ple people do idolatrie by them, in placing their  
'hope in them? &c.'* Our bishop does not deny,

but, that very wrong and false opinions were entertained by the people of these images ; as, that there was some godly virtue in them, that they did miracles, that they were alive, and did see, hear or speak at some certain times, and sometimes did sweat. Nay, he seems to allow, that images were the occasions of some moral vices in the people, as of their overmuch worshipping them, of pride, and of covetousness. Of these things Dr. *Wiclif*, &c. much

complained. That poor men were spoiled *ibidem* p. 350,  
with unjust axings, or tallages, oppressions, 351.  
extortions or other frauds to maintain the cos-  
tly honour paid to these images ; that by them

the works of mercy were cruelly withdrawn from needy men ; nay, that the clergy enjoyed, as penance, mens offering to certain images, for their winning or advantage, or to maintain their pride and covetousness. But

nothing less in our bishop's opinion was sufficient to justify the breaking or destroying them than the worshipping them as GOD. But certainly if covetousness, or a trusting in uncertain riches, a making gold our hope, or the fine gold our confidence be idolatry, as the apostle of the *Gentiles* expressly affirms, one  
would

*Great Sentence  
of curse ex-  
pounded; c. 6. MS.*

would think our trusting in any images of *Christ*, or his saints, our making them our hope and confidence, tho' we no more took them for the incorruptible GOD, than we believed our riches to be so, should be properly idolatry. Now what greater sign could the people give of their trusting in images, and placing their hope and confidence in them, and by so doing, giving that honour to *them*, that is due to GOD only, than their believing a divine virtue in them, and, that miracles were often wrought by them? This was being like even the heathens themselves, or however the wiser sort of them, who tho' they denied, that they ever thought their images to be very gods, *per se deos*; yet fancied, that by consecration the gods were brought into them, and dwelt in them, and, that there they worshipped them. But to proceed,

Arnobius con.  
gentes lib. 6.

Repreſſour part  
II. c. 7, 8.

25. The *second* principal governance —  
 ' of which many of the layte overmyche wi-  
 ' ten the clergie,' the bishop observed, was  
 this, ' that *pilgrimagis* to dyverse bodies and  
 ' bonys ef seintis be maad, and also ben maad  
 ' to ymagis of *Crist* crucified, and of *Marie*,  
 ' and of othere seintis, and nameliche for that  
 ' pilgrimagis ben maad into summe placis more  
 ' in which ben the ymagis of the crucifex, and  
 ' of *Marie*, and of the seintis, than into summe  
 ' othere placis in which ben like ymagis of the  
 ' crucifix, and of *Marie*, and of the same  
 ' othere seintis. 'The practice of going in pil-  
 grimage

grimage to *Jerusalem*, seems to have been new  
 in the fourth century, when *Gregory Nyssen*,  
 about the latter end of it, in a learned epistle  
 dissuaded christians from going thither on that  
 errand, telling them, that the lord had not  
 reckoned going to *Jerusalem* among those  
 good deeds, which direct us to attain to the  
 inheritance of the kingdom of heaven. To the  
 same purpose *St. Chrysostome*; to obtain pardon  
 of our sins, says he, there is no occasion of  
 travailing far in pilgrimages, and going to the  
 most distant nations. Here in *England* about  
 the beginning of the eighth century, an odd  
 and surprizing opinion of the holiness and me-  
 rit of pilgrimages to *Rome* very much prevailed,  
 and became very fashionable, insomuch that  
 the *English* of all ranks and degrees, of every  
 sex and age travelled to *Rome*, and placed a  
 mighty confidence in visiting the tombs of the  
 apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, &c. The  
 consequence of which was, that as *Bonniface*  
 archbishop of *Mentz*, wrote to *Cuthbert* arch-  
 bishop of *Canterbury*, there were few cities in  
*Lombardy*, *France*, or *Gaul*, in which there  
 were not to be found some lewd women of  
 the *English* nation. For which reason he re-  
 commends to him the suppression of this prac-  
 tice, as of a very scandalous and ill consequence.  
 But this humour finding encouragement on  
 account of the profit arising by the offerings  
 made to the holy places and images which the  
 pilgrims visited, a service or order was com-  
 posed

A.D. 370.  
 Bp. Taylor's  
 dissuasive from  
 popery, part  
 II. lib. 2.

Dr. Inett's  
 history of the  
 Eng. church,  
 Vol. I. p. 148.

about 750.



edit. Rboto.  
mage, 1554.

posed for them in particular, which was inserted in the *Salisbury* manual. First of all the pilgrims were to be confessed of all their sins; then they were to prostrate themselves before the altar, and to have said over them the psalms and prayers there appointed; the pilgrims were then to stand up, and the priest was to bless their satchels or scrips and staves, praying to GOD, that he would vouchsafe to sanctify and bless them, that whoever for the love of his name, should put that satchel to his side, or hang it about his neck, or carry that staff in his hands, and thus going on pilgrimage, should with an humble devotion desire to obtain the suffrages of the saints, might be protected by the defence of his right hand, and deserve to come to the joys of the eternal mansion. And then sprinkling holy water on the satchels and staves, putting the satchel about each of the pilgrims necks, and delivering the staves into their hands, with a set form of words for the purpose. If any of the pilgrims were a going to *Hierusalem*, they were to have their garments marked with a cross, and the crosses to be blessed and sprinkled with holy water, and the garment so marked was to be delivered to every one of the pilgrims with a set form of words for the purpose. All which being ended a mass was said for their good journey.

26. The popes finding these pilgrimages likely to turn to account, it was ordained A. D. 1188, that whatever clerk or laick took

took the cross he should be freed and ~~tab-~~  
 solved from all the sins which he had repented  
 of and confessed. And to improve the trade,  
 some particular images were preferr'd to others  
 as of more especial vertue and holiness, and  
 to which therefore the prayers that were made  
 were more meritorious. Thus among the  
 prayers of St. *Bridget*, in the *Salisbury* primer  
 are some prayers with this rubrick prefixed to  
 them. *Whosoever, being in a state of grace,* St. Marie de  
la Peyte.  
*shall say devoutly the following prayers with one*  
*pater-noster, and as many ave-maries, before*  
*the ymage of pitie, he shall deserve or merit fifty*  
*six thousand years of indulgences; which were*  
*granted by three popes, viz. 1. by pope Gregory†,*  
*xiiii thousand; 2. by pope Nicholas V. xiiii*  
*thousand, A. D. 1459. 3. by pope Sixtus IV.*  
*who*

† This is the first mention which we have made of these in-  
 dulgences in any of our *English* constitutions. The council of  
*Trent* having left the nature of an indulgence undefined, there  
 are various opinions of it; but it is allowed, that the safest to  
 follow and easiest to defend is this; that, "an indulgence is a  
 " remission, in part, or in whole, of the temporal pains im-  
 " posed on sinners by their confessors, according to the judg-  
 " ment of their discretion, or which might have been imposed  
 " on them, according to the canons of the church; and by the  
 " usual stile of an indulgence of 40 days, is meant, according  
 " to them, a remission of the penalties imposed by the canons  
 " on offenders, or an indulgence of the several periods of time  
 " to do penance for several sins."

‡ By there being no year mentioned here when pope *Grego-*  
*ry* granted this indulgence, it seems as if the maker of this ru-  
 bric did not know to which of the *Gregories* to ascribe it, or ra-  
 ther, that he was willing it should be believed, that it was pope  
*Gregory I.* But the last of the *Gregories* lived 1406. which in-  
 deed seems to be the date of the rise of these extravagant follies.

John Burney's  
prologue, &c.  
MS.

*Speculum par-  
vulorum.* lib.  
V. c. 27.  
apud Wharton  
Ang. fac. Vol.  
II.

who also composed four prayers of the following suffrages, xxviii thousand, and A. D. 1478, doubled these indulgences. The saints which seem to have been most in vogue here in England, were our lady of *Walsingham*||, saint Edward, and saint Thomas of Canterbury, and to their images and shrines was the greatest resort of pilgrims. However, even at the very height of these follies, there were some, and they too of no inferiour character, how shew'd their dislike of these superstitious follies. Thus the author of *the looking-glass for little children*, tells us, that A. D. 1381, 'in the fourth jubilee of the most famous martyr St. Thomas the people from every place flocked to Canterbury, *magno cordis affectu*, & *desiderio*, and, that at the same time, on the vigil of the foresaid translation, it happened, that the venerable father, the lord Simon de Suthberi, then bishop of London, was travelling towards Canterbury, who being misled by the spirit of error, positively assured the people that were going on pilgrimage thither, that *the plenary indulgence which they hoped for at Canterbury, was of no profit or value*; on which many of the croud, with their eyes cast down to the ground, stood amazed at the sayings of so great a father; some went back again; others with

|| Celeberrimum nomen est per universam Angliam, nec temerè reperias in ea insula qui speret res suas fore salvas, quin illam quotannis aliquo munusculo pro facultatum modulo salutarit. *Eraſmi peregrinatio religionis ergo.*

‘with loud voices cursed the bishop to his  
 ‘face, saying and wishing, that he might die  
 ‘a base and shameful death, who was not a-  
 ‘fraid to do so great an injury to the glorious  
 ‘martyr. A *Kentish* knight also, whose name  
 ‘the writer thinks was Sir *Thomas de Aldoun*,  
 ‘being moved with anger, came up to the  
 ‘bishop, and said to him, my lord bishop,  
 ‘because you have raised such a sedition a-  
 ‘mong the people against St. *Thomas*, on pain  
 ‘of my life, or at the peril of my soul\*, you  
 ‘shall die a shameful death ; to which all the  
 ‘people cried, *amen, amen*. Accordingly,  
 ‘in the reign of *Richard II.* he was beheaded  
 ‘by the mob that rose under *Wat Tyler* and  
 ‘*Jack Straw*, that the voice of the people,  
 ‘saith the writer of this story, i. e. the voice  
 ‘of G O D, as it was foretold, might in due  
 ‘time be fulfilled. This story is therefore  
 ‘told, as the writer of it informs us, to make  
 ‘others afraid of opposing the papal indul-  
 ‘gences, and terrifying the minds of devout  
 ‘pilgrims.’

27. It was about the same time, that Dr.  
*Wiclif* opposed the granting these *indulgences*,  
 and the practice of pilgrimages. He observed  
 of the first of these, that, ‘this pardon is for-  
 ‘givenness or remission of sins when men are  
 ‘verily contrite for all their sins, by vertue of  
 ‘Christ’s passion and martyrdom, and holy

Life of Dr.  
*Wiclif*, &c.  
 P. 137, &c.

\* This was in those times a form of swearing——*Jura-  
 mentum est quando aliquis dicit periculo animæ suæ. Lyndwood  
 provin. p. 110.*

H

‘merit



‘ merit of saints, that they did more than was  
‘ needful for their own salvation. That this  
‘ was never taught in all the gospel, and never  
‘ used by *Peter* nor *Paul*, nor any other a-  
‘ postle of Christ’s: That all men that are in  
‘ charity, are partakers of Christ’s passion, and  
‘ of all good deeds from the beginning of the  
‘ world to the end thereof, by the most righ-  
‘ teous dealing of *Jesus Christ*, as far as it is  
‘ right; and, that more shall no man have,  
‘ for any grant of any creature of GOD.  
‘ That if the day of judgment come, before  
‘ these thousands of years are expired, than  
‘ these pardons are false, since after the judg-  
‘ ment shall be no purgatory: That the pope  
‘ and his creatures are out of charity, if there  
‘ dwell any soul in purgatory, for he may with  
‘ full heart, without any cost deliver them  
‘ out of purgatory, and they are able to re-  
‘ ceive such help since they are in grace: That  
‘ these pardons go not for charity, but for  
‘ worldly dirt, as it seems; since if pardon  
‘ should be granted, it should be granted for to  
‘ make peace and charity, and not for to make  
‘ dissention and wars, and christian men to  
‘ slay their brethren: That if this pardon be  
‘ an heavenly and spiritual gift, it should be  
‘ given freely as Christ teacheth in the gospel,  
‘ and not for money, nor worldly goods, nor  
‘ fleshly favour: Whereas if a rich man  
‘ would buy derely the bull, he shall have a  
‘ bull of pardon with thousands of years,  
though

‘ though he be cursed of GOD for his sinful  
 ‘ life ; and a poor bedrid man that hath no  
 ‘ money, and cannot travaile to *Rome*, or to  
 ‘ such another place, he shall have no pardon  
 ‘ of the pope, tho’ he be holy and full of cha-  
 ‘ rity : That this feigned pardon foully de-  
 ‘ ceived many christian men, and robbed them  
 ‘ cursedly of their money ; for rich men trust  
 ‘ to flee to heaven thereby without pain, and  
 ‘ therefore dread sin the less, and little is said  
 ‘ of true contrition and of leaving of sin, and  
 ‘ and of doing alms to most needy men. He  
 ‘ therefore concluded, that this feigned pardon  
 ‘ is a subtil merchandize of antichrist’s clerks,  
 ‘ to magnify their pretended power, to get  
 ‘ worldly goods, and to make men not dread  
 ‘ sin, but securely to wallow therein as hogs.’

28. As to the going on *pilgrimages*, the Dr.  
 said, that, ‘ tho’ it might be allowed, that Life of Dr.  
*Wiclif*, p. 350;  
 &c.  
 ‘ sick men go a pilgrimage in the realm, in  
 ‘ visiting the placis of saints to avoid sins, and  
 ‘ to give goods to needy men, so that they set  
 ‘ not hope of health in the foresaid images,  
 ‘ nor leave the works of mercy in relation to  
 ‘ poor men, which *Christ* commanded under  
 ‘ the pain of everlasting damnation: Never-  
 ‘ theless to go a pilgrimage, and visit such pla-  
 ‘ cis in set hope of health in dumb idols, or  
 ‘ in images made with man’s hands, in offer-  
 ‘ ing to the images, or to rich men of the  
 ‘ world, the alms-deeds that are due to poor  
 ‘ men by the command of *Christ*, was utterly

‘ unlawful, an open sign of idolatry, and a  
 ‘ spoiling and slaying of poore men, and apo-  
 ‘ stacy or going back from the christian faith.’

On the whole he concluded, that, ‘ by  
 ‘ such *images*, and *foolish pilgrimages*, the  
 ‘ works of mercy were cruelly withdrawn  
 ‘ from needy men, and the common people  
 ‘ were needlessly and unprofitably occupied and  
 ‘ engaged in sins, and proude clergymen and  
 ‘ religiouse were set so high, that they neither  
 ‘ know GOD nor themselves, nor secular lords  
 ‘ duly, or as they ought to know them, nor  
 ‘ their poor neighbours mercifully.’

*Lyndwood*  
 provinc. p.  
 298.

But in the year 1408, archbishop *Arundel* made a constitution, that nobody should presume privately or publickly to dispute the determinations of provincial councils, &c. or teach contrary to them, especially about the adoration of the glorious cross, the worship of the images of the saints, or the pilgrimages to their places, or reliques, &c. under the pain of incurring the penalties of heresy and relapse.

29. Thus stood this matter in our bishop’s time, who in justifying this usage of *pilgrimages* proceeded by these following conclusions. *First*, that, ‘ holi scripture weerneth  
 ‘ not, neither reproveth suche now seid pilgry-  
 ‘ magis to be don: That doom of kindeli  
 ‘ weel disposid resoun weerneth not, and lettith  
 ‘ not bodili pilgrimagis to be donin the maner  
 ‘ now bifore seid: That pilgrimagis are not  
 ‘ unleeftul

' unlesful, but leeful: That holi scripture  
 ' allowith, that pilgrimagis be doon—For whi,  
 ' withoute rememoratiif signes of a thing or  
 ' of thingis, the rememoracion or the remem-  
 ' braunce of thilk thing or thingis must needis  
 ' be the febler. And therefore fithin the bo-  
 ' di, or the bonis, or the relikis of eny per-  
 ' soon is a ful wyg rememoratiif signe of the  
 ' same persoon; it is ful resonable and  
 ' ful worthi, that where the bodi or bonis, or  
 ' eny releef or relick of a saint mai be had,  
 ' that it be sett up in a comoun place, to which  
 ' peple may have her devout neiging and ac-  
 ' cesse, for to have her devout biholding ther-  
 ' upon for to make the seid therbi remem-  
 ' braunce. And ferther, fithin it is not reson-  
 ' able and convenient, that suche bodies or  
 ' bonis or relikis be left withoute in the bair  
 ' feeld, and that bothe for it were agens the  
 ' eese of the peple, which schulde come ther-  
 ' to in reyny and wyndi wedris, and for, that  
 ' thei myghten thanne be take away bi wic-  
 ' ked men not dreading GOD; therfore it is  
 ' ful resonable and worthy for to bilde over the  
 ' bodies and bonis and othere relikis chapellis,  
 ' or chirchis, yhe and for to bilde besidis hem  
 ' auter and queris, that the office of praising *Quires*  
 ' GOD, and of praiyng to GOD and to sein-  
 ' tis be in the better forme doon——Re-  
 ' foun wole and allowith and approvith nedis,  
 ' that men visite and haunte, *for the seid eende*  
 ' of solempne remembrauncing, tho placis and



' tho ymagis whiche it is sure GOD to chese  
 ' into the seid eende, and by the seid evyden-  
 ' cis of miraculis doing.——But so it is,  
 ' that suche seid visiting and haunting into the  
 ' seid eende is not ellis than pilgrimage. Wher-  
 ' fore resoun wole, jugith, allowith and ap-  
 ' prouith pilgrimagis to be doon.' In all which  
 resoning, we may observe, the bishop says  
 not a word of peoples visiting the relicks and  
 images of the saints to obtain the benefit of  
 indulgences, or in set or firm hope or trust of  
 health or salvation in them, or to make their  
 offerings to them, which were the ends of  
 pilgrimage which Dr. *Wiclif* opposed. The  
 same may be observed of our bishop's answers  
 to the objections made by the *Wiclifists* against  
 imagis and pilgrimages.

30. It seems by the *Wiclifists* objections,  
 that they went farther in their opposition to  
*images* than Dr. *Wiclif* had done, since they  
 were against their being thought at all lawful,  
 or even for rememorative signs, or the books  
 of ignorant men. Thus the bishop represents  
 their arguings: 'There is no occasion for either  
 ' images or pilgrimages to awaken men's re-  
 ' membrance, so long as scripture, and saint-  
 ' lives, and other devout treatises may suffici-  
 ' ently answer that purpose: That if bishops  
 ' and priests were but more constant and dili-  
 ' gent in preaching and otherwise instructing  
 ' and exhorting the people, there would be no  
 ' need of images or pilgrimages to stir up their  
 ' remembrance:

' remembrance : That every *living* man is a  
 ' better representation of *Christ* or of the saints  
 ' than dead *images*: That the devil hath Life of Dr.  
Wiclif, p.230.  
 ' sometimes deceived the worshipers of *imagis*  
 ' as is plain from the legend of *Bartholomew*,  
 ' where it is said, that *the feend, which was*  
 ' *in a famose ymage in a temple, made the peple*  
 ' *sik in her bodies, that thei schulden come bi-*  
 ' *fore him in pilgrimage, and prie, and thanne* pray  
 ' *he wolde make hem hool; and herbi he drowe*  
 ' *the peple into mysbileeve, and myslyvyng :*  
 ' That images and pilgrimages are the oc-  
 ' casions of much sin, that the time, and pains  
 ' and costs laid out upon images and pilgri-  
 ' mages might be more usefully spent in much  
 ' better services, as relieving the poor, in-  
 ' structing the ignorant, reading, hearing, &c.  
 ' That *St. Paul* cautions us against vain philo-  
 ' sophy, and human wisdom : That if a man  
 ' must go in pilgrimage, why must it be done  
 ' openly, except for vain-glory? *Also what*  
 ' *skille is thereto, that he bere openli by stretis an*  
 ' *ymage of wex, or of tre for to offre it up at* wood  
 ' *the place of pilgrimage, and for to lete it*  
 ' *abide there contynuelly after him?* That  
 ' *Josbua* commanded the people to put away  
 ' all strange Gods : That the *Jews* had much  
 ' more sence than christian children of ten year  
 ' old, and so also had the heathens a great  
 ' deal of excellent sence ; yet both these fell  
 ' into gross idolatry in the use of images; how  
 ' then shall christian people, the ignorant es-  
 ' pecially,

Breviarium  
Romanum  
Pars Verna  
p. 198.

‘pecially, avoid the like snare while they use  
 ‘images? That to pray to any creature for  
 ‘such favours and blessings as can come from  
 ‘G O D only, is plainly idolatry; yet such  
 ‘prayers are offered up to the cross, both by  
 ‘clergy and people, as is manifest from the  
 ‘church offices, particularly the hymn *vexilla*  
 ‘*regis prodeunt*, &c. which is appointed to be  
 ‘said on the *saturday* before *passion sunday*;  
 ‘the response *O crux viride lignum*, &c. at the  
 ‘first evening song on the feast of *the invention*  
 ‘*of the cross*, and the anthem, *O crux splen-*  
 ‘*didior*, &c. sung at the same festival; the  
 ‘anthem *crux fidelis*, &c. sung at the second  
 ‘evening song of *the exaltation of the cross*, and  
 ‘the *sequence*, *O Christe*, &c. at the same feast.  
 ‘That to use such ceremonies, salutations,  
 ‘prostrations, &c. towards a creature, as are  
 ‘proper to GOD alone, is making a GOD of  
 ‘the creature; but such are those that have  
 ‘been customarily used towards the crosse:  
 ‘Thus in *celdir daies* *whanne procession was*  
 ‘*maad in the palme-sunday, before masse, the*  
 ‘*eucharist was not brought forth, that the pro-*  
 ‘*cessioun of the clerkis and of the lay peple schulde*  
 ‘*meete with him, but a baar uncoverid crosse*  
 ‘*was brought forth agens the processioun, that*  
 ‘*the processioun schulde meete agens it, as y have*  
 ‘*red in diverse oolde ordinalis of cathedrale*  
 ‘*chirchis, and of monasteries in Ynglond:*  
 ‘(thoug in *latir daies*, and *namelich in summe*  
 ‘*chirchis, the eukarist is born forth, and the*  
 ‘*proces-*

' processioun meetith with the eukarist born in  
 ' a chest among relikis, and in many placis he is  
 ' born in a coupe ordayned therto.) In tho  
 ' daies, and in tho placis whanne and where  
 ' the precessioun mette in palme-sunday, with  
 ' the nakid crosse, or with the chest of relikis  
 ' withoute the eukarist, summe of the clerkis  
 ' were ordeyned for to stonde bifore the seid crosse,  
 ' and for to turne hem toward the processioun,  
 ' and seie in singing to al the clergie and peple  
 ' thus, lo the kyng mylde and meke, &c.—  
 ' And thanne thus seid and sungun fro' the cler-  
 ' kis, in the crossis bibelwe, to the prestis and  
 ' lay peple in processioun, the priestis and peple  
 ' fillen doun, kneling with alle her knees to the  
 ' grounde, seying or singing, or in both maners,  
 ' toward the seid discouered crosse thus: heil thou  
 ' whom the peple of Hebrees meeting witnes-  
 ' feth to be Jesus: Lastly, it was objected,  
 ' that to whatever thing men offren in lougist  
 ' wise comyng toward it bi creping, and whos <sup>lowest</sup>  
 ' feet thei kissen in devoutist maner thei kunnen  
 ' thilk thing thei taken for her souereynest and  
 ' bigest lord——But so it is, that to the crosse in  
 ' Good Fridai, men comen in lougest wise creeping  
 ' on alle her knees, and to this crosse in so louge  
 ' and devout maner thei offren, and the feet of  
 ' thilk crosse thei in devoutist maner kissen, &c.'

31. To the objections of the *Wiclifists* against  
 images, going on pilgrimages, and offering to  
 them, our bishop thus replies. First, he ob-  
 served, that hearing and reading, though good  
 means



means, are not sufficient without rememorative signs, which are more lively, strong and affecting, and do that at once, and with less labour or pain, which the reading whole volumes can scarce effect. Besides, that many cannot read at all, and, at the best, reading and hearing alone leave but faint and dull and transient impressions, and convey a great deal less to the mind than a visible representation and reading both together. Christ added visible sacraments to supply the defect of meer reading or hearing, so necessary was it to have something visible added to the other. For, says his lordship, *to soone and ofte come intorembraunce of a long mater bi ech oon persoon, and also as for to make that the mo persoones come into remembraunce of a mater, ymagis and picturis serven in a specialer maner than bokis doon, tho' in another maner ful substanciali bokis serven bettir into remembrauncing of the same materis than ymagis and picturis doon*——Marke whoſo whole in his mynde all the bokis whiche been in London writun upon seint Katheryns liif and passiouns, and ydare weel seie, that though ther were x thousand mo bokis writun in London in thilk day of the same seintis liif and passioun, thei schulden not so moche turne the citee into mynde of the holi famose liif of seint Kateryn, and of her dignitee in which sche now is, as dooth in each yeer the going of peple in pilgrimage to the college of seint Kateryn

*bisidis*

*bifidis* Londoun. *As y dare putte this into* juxta turrim  
*judgment of whomever hath seen the pilgrimage*  
*doon in the vigil of seint Kateryn bi perfoones of* Novem. 24.  
 Londoun to the seid college. *Wherfore rigt*  
*greet special commodities and profitis into re-*  
*membrance making ymagis and pilgrimadis han*  
*and doon, whiche writing is is not so han and*  
*doon.* His lordship added,

That the clergy are not bound, neither can they be always intent upon the office of instructing the people; that they have their health and their studies, their maintenance and several other private affairs to look after; that when they have done their utmost, it will not amount to so much as *that*, and the other means both together:

That a living man does not represent Christ as hanging on a cross, stripped, wounded, scourged, or the like, and therefore is not a competent representation:

That it does not appear, that the devil has any thing to do with the images of the church, and, that the case is very different; for the people, of whom the legend speaks, took the image for their GOD, and were justly deceived by the devil. Whereas christian people use the images as signs only or tokens of GOD:

That many other good things are the occasions of much sin, as well as images and pilgrimages; but that they are not therefore to be laid aside, or not used, but the abuses of them to be corrected or prevented:

That

That to argue, that the pains and costs, &c. spent on images and pilgrimages, might be better employed, is to fill men with endless scruples ; since if we are never to do any good work, till we are sure, that we might not in the same time do better, we may possibly sit still and do no good work at all. It is sufficient, that the thing be good tho' in a lower way, and, that a man employs himself either in the higher or lower exercises, as occasion offers, and does good of all kinds :

That as to adhering only to what scriptures prescribes, &c. whatever right reason approveth GOD approveth, though not prescribed in scripture ; that nevertheless scripture is not intirely silent in the present case, but has scattered some hints here and there, which favour the practice or use of images and pilgrimages : That it is not *vain* philosophy, but true wisdom which introduced them, and, that therefore St. *Paul's* caution against vain philosophy does not at all relate to them :

That carrying images openly to offer up at the place of pilgrimage, is the best way of exciting others to follow our example, and to preserve the memory of what we have done to future generations for their instruction and benefit :

That it does not follow, because *Joshua* commanded the people to put away all strange gods, that therefore all images must be put away, since images are not strange gods:

That

That neither *Jews* nor *Heathens* worshipped meer images, but devils as it were incorporate in the images. *The hethen men helden her god to be bodili, and bodied in a maner which thei couthen not at fulle undirstonde; even as we cristen men holden now our GOD to be bodili and bodied in a man. And as it is trewe, that cristen men worschipe a man for her GOD, but thei worscipes not so the pure manhoode in himsilf, withoute more therto sett; so the hethen men worschipeden a ymage and a bodili graved thing for her GOD, but not the pure bodili graved ymage in himsilf withoute more for her GOD. And so these II. thingis which scripture seith of idolatrers stond togedere and be trewe; that alle goddis of heathen men ben feendis, and also, that the goddis of hethen men ben gold and silver the workis of mennis hondis.——The hethen men camen into thilk greet synne of ydolatrie bicause thei never receyveden the ffeith whiche othere men, not being ydolaters in the same daies receyueden——many also of the Jewis, whiche weren before sufficientli instructid in the feith of oon GOD, and of veri GOD, and in the evidencis longing therto, fellen bi her negligence fro the attendaunce whiche schulde have be gouum bi a continuaunce to the evidencis——But now sume what before the birthe of Crist, alle jewis camen into so grete attendaunce to the evidencis of veri feith, teching oon GOD to be, and also aftir the passioun of Crist, hiderto in this present day, so greet*



*greet refoun hathe ben founde bothe of bethen men and of Jewis and of Cristen men——That a this side the passioun of Crist, was not into this present day eny ydolatrie among Jewis, neither among bethen men whiche lyven in eny notable famous sect; or if among bethen men be eny ydolatrie it is in ful fewe placis, among wrecched persoons, not sett bi of othere bethen men. Hereof it muste nedis solewe, that now adaies it is not perel to cristen men, neither to the jewis, neither to bethen men for to have and entermete with ymagis of GOD, as it was in the daies fer bifore going the incarnacioun of Crist.*

32. As to the hymns, responses, &c. in the church-offices produced to prove, that prayers are offered up to the cross, the bishop observed, that these and the like expressions of devotion are to be taken for figures of rhetorick, and not to be soberly interpreted, understanding them not strictly of the cross, but of Christ himself upon the cross, and of saving men in and by the cross. As for example, when the church prays, †O cross of Christ, y prie thee helpe me and defende me, and justifi me; the dew undirstonding herof mai be this,

† O crux ave spes unica  
Hoc passionis tempore  
Piis adauge gratiam,  
Reisque dele crimina.

Te, fons salutis trinitas,  
Collaudet omnis spiritus,  
Quibus crucis victoriam  
Largiris, adde præmium.

Amen.

O Crist y prie thee helpe me and justifie me bi thi crosse, as therto the helping instrument.

33. To the *two* last objections, the bishop thus answers; *all what in suche processions was seid and sungun to the crosse in eelde daies of the chirche in palme sunday, was seid of Crist ymaged to be bodili present with, and in the crucifixe or crosse which the peple in processioun bihelden. And herbi git into fether encrecing of devocioun and good affeccioun to be gendrid upon Crist, thei crepiden toward and to such an ymage of the crucifex in Good-Fridai ——— and git fether, into more love and good affeccioun they kiseden the feet of the ymage ——— And this devout practise name-lich in his outward deede abidith git in al the West-chirche a this side Greek-lond, how- ever it be of the inward ymaginatiif deed, whiche, as I trowe, abidith ful littil or nought; the more harm is. And so it mai be seid, that nothing is seid and sungun to the nakid and bare crosse in processioun of Palme-Sunday, neither eny creping or offring, or kissing is maad to the crosse in good fridai; but al this is doon to Christis persoon in his manhede which is yma- gined there to be in, and with the ymage cru- cified, heed to heed, hond to hond, foot to foot, thoug it be not trowid so to be, but thoug the contrari is trowid to be. And herbi is sufficient answere govun to the xiiith and xvth argumen- tis togidere. Whoever schal cleerli and perfectli undirstonde*

## The LIFE of

undirſtonde the anſwere whiche is now biſore made to the xiiii and xv argumentis, he ſchal therbi take ſufficient ground for to excuſe fro blame, and fro unfruytful and lewid gouernaunce alle tho whiche wolen touche with her bondis the feet and other parties, and the clothis of ymagis, and wolen thanne aſtir ſette to her viſage, and to her igen, and to her mouthis tho her bondis with whiche in the now ſeid manner thei toucheden the ymagis or the clothengis of the ymagis——And ſittthen what a man mai not have and do at the next and immediatli, he wole be weel paied and weel pleaſid for to have it mediately, that is to ſeie, for to have it arome, and bi a meene it ſolewith, that it is coveitable to a man for to gete to him, and to have unto his viſage, or igen, or mouth, the touche of Criſtis feet, or of his mouth, or of his bond or breſte bi meene of the touche whiche the bond gitteth fro hem, and upon hem immediatli.

34. To there being ſome ſpecial virtue in ſome images above others, and the making pilgrimages to ſome places for the ſake of theſe images rather than to others, it was objected by the *Wicliffiſts*, that GOD is preſent every where, ready to ſhed or pour forth his gifts and graces, wherefore it was vain, waſt, and idil, for to trotte to Walingham rather then to ech other place in which a ymage of Marie is, and to the rode of the north-dore† at London,

† Towards the great north-door was a crucifex, whereunto pilgrimages and offerings were frequently made, whereof the dean and canons had the benefit. *Dugdales* hiſtory of St. Paul's cathedral, p. 22. ed. 1716.

London, *rather than to ech other rood in what-ever place it be*; that Christ's discourse with the woman of *Samaria*, witnesseth, that GOD is to be worshipped in spirit, and in truth, and that his worship is not to be confined to this or that place. To these arguments the bishop replies to this effect; that it is not true, that all places are alike in GOD's sight, since GOD often chuses to dispense his favours in one place rather than in another, and in the manner of his own approving, rather than in another of man's devising; and has pointed out the places, or the images, which he most accepts by his miracles wrought in them: That the *Samaritanes* worshipped GOD as a bodily thing, and so not in *spirit*, or not as a *pure spirit*, and by *idolatry*, and so *not in truth*. Wherefore Christ's caution affects not the use of images under the rules before laid down; and as to his saying, that neither upon this mountain *Gerizim*, nor in *Jerusalem*, the time would come, that they should not there worship the father, it was no more than a prophesy of the destruction of that city and country by the *Romans*.

35. The bishop concludes this his discourse of *images* and *pilgrimages* with the following wise and excellent advice. That though he had said, as he thought, sufficient to justify the use of images and pilgrimages, especially to such as cannot read or hear the word of GOD, yet he would not advise any, *to haunte*



as it were alwey, the exercise in such visible signes whanne thei coveten to be maad spiritual, sweet, and devoute with GOD, and strong for to do and suiffre for him. Neither, that haunte so micke, or so ofte the uce of suche visible signes, that thilk haunte and uce lette hem from uce of a better exercise; — speciall, that thei not drenche al the leiser which tho men migten and schulden have for to reede or heere the word of GOD. — For certis how the sunne passith in cleernes, cheerte, and coumfort the moone; and as a greet torcke passith a litil candel; so in these seid pointis, reding and heering in GODDIS word, which is an exercise in hereable signs govum to us fro G O D, passith in cleernes of teaching, and in cheerte of deliit, and in coumfort of strengthe-geving for to do and suffre for GOD in his lawe-kepeing, al the exercise had, or whiche can be had, in suche nowe biforneseid visible signs deuifid bi man.

Repressour,  
&c. part III.  
c. 13.

A. D. 1172.  
Archb. *Usher*  
of the religion  
of the ancient  
*Irisb.*

36. The next governance of the church which the bishop here vindicates is, *the possessions of the clergy*, or rather those of the pope, since his whole defence consists of a confutation of that fiction, that the emperor *Constantine* founded and endowed the church of *Rome*. Thus our *John of Salisbury* in the reign of *Henry II.* contended, that all the isles, and consequently *Ireland*, belonged to the *Roman* church of ancient right, by the donation of *Constantine*, who founded and endowed that church. To the same purpose *Marfilius de Padua*,

*Padua*, that *Constantine* in the seventh year of his reign changed the seat of his empire, going himself to *Constantinople*, and committing *Rome* to *Silvester* the then pope, and to his successors. Dr. *Wiclif* seems to have been of the same opinion; before *Cæsar*, says he, endowed the church of *Rome*, no one took this honour of priesthood upon him unless he was called of GOD. So in another place, \**The angel* said full sothe, when the church was dowed, that this day is venom shed into the church.

*de translat.  
imperii.*

A. D. 1324.

Life of Dr.  
*Wiclif*, p. 122

*Dialogorum*  
Lib. IV. c. 18.

In the same manner our poet *Chaucer* refers to this fable as then a current opinion. *Laurentius Vallenfis*, about 1440 wrote a book which he entituled, *Of the false donation of Constantine*. But then he is represented as doing this with some hazard, *librum scribere ausus est*.

*Plowman's*  
Tale see p. 31

*Bar. Picerni,*  
*de monte ar-*  
*duo ad Fulium*  
II. præfatio,  
&c.

37. Our bishop thus sets himself to oppose this donation, *Constantyn*, says he, *endewid not the pope Silvester neithir eny chirche in Rome, with eny greet habundaunt immoveable possesiouns, but oonli with possesiouns competentis and mesurably, with sufficiencye serving for the fynding of the prestis and mynystris of the chirkis which he endewid; except oon chirche clepid Constantynyana, into whiche chirche he gaf*

I 2

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\* Narrant chronica quod in dotatione ecclesiæ, vox audita est in aere angelica tunc temporis sic dicentis, *hodie effusum est venenum in ecclesia sancta Dei*. *Dialo.* Lib. IV. c. 18. which is thus reported by *Thomas Sprott* a monk of *St. Austin's* near *Canterbury*, *illo tempore, viz. anno iii. c. xv. dyabolus in aere volando clamavit, hodie venenum ecclesiis Dei infusum est.* *Chron.* p. 43.

oil, balm,

Avignon

a certein of possessioun for fynding of ligitis, and for fynding of bauwme into brennyng of laumpis, ouer the competent unmovable endewing which he made into the same chirche for fynding of prestis and mynistris seruing in the same chirche. But al the habundant and riche endewing of the pope and his jee-chirche in Rome, came bi other persoones long astir Constantyn, as bi †Pipyn king of Fraunce, and bi Charles king of Fraunce and emperour, and bi Lodowic king of Fraunce and emperour, and bi Matilde a greet ladi, which gaf the greet and riche and rial marchionat of Auchon to the pope togidere at oonis, and became therbi to be the doughtir of seint Peter, as in chronicles and stories it is open for to see.

38. The bishop's reasons to confute this †fiction of Constantine's donation are these,  
 1. Pope Damascus makes no mention of it in his epistle to Jerom. 2. This pope was not in possession of any such endowment when he wrote to Jerome. 3. No authentick and credible records or chronicles take notice of it, nothing but the legende or storie of Silvestris gestis, and oon epistle putt and ascryved unlikeli to Constantyn, and tho stories and cronicles which taken of it and solewen it. 4. The  
 thre-

† Nulli plus contulerunt ecclesiæ Romanæ, nec magis potentiam ejus auxerunt, quam Pipinus, Carolus, & Ludovicus, Francorum reges. *Fran. Duaren. de sacris ecclesiæ ministeriis ac beneficiis, Lib. II. c. 1.*

† Constantini donatio est ficta & eumentita. *Roberti Goci censura quorundam scriptorum, &c. p. 87—92.*

*thre-departid storie, maad of thre moost famese* *Historia tri-*  
*and credible storiers in* *Greek-lond, relates, that* *partita.*

Constantine divided his whole empire into three parts among his three sons, and particularly he *biquathe* the lordship of the west-parti which was Rome, with al the cuntrey aboute, to his eeldist sone Constantyn; *whiche sone re-*  
*joiced the same parti to him devysid, and, that* *enjoyed*  
*thorug al his liif, and his brother Constans*  
*next astir him rejoiced the same west-parti—*  
*and his brother Constancius, after the deeth*  
*of hem bothe, al the hool empire of eest and west.*

5. Boniface the IVth, about 250 years after Silvester's death, begged of the emperor Phocas to give him the *Pantheon* in Rome, in order to convert it into a christian church; which the pope need not have begg'd of another, had Rome been all his own.

6. Histories plainly evidence, that Charles the great, and Lewis were the first that invested the popes with such large territories and dominions.

7. *Manye hundrid yeeris after the deeth of pope*  
*Silvester, the eleccioun of the pope, maad at*  
*Rome, was sende into Grekelond—*  
*for to be confermed or admittid of the emperour, as*  
*can be proved bi sufficient credible cronicles and*  
*stories—this y seie not for this, that it so*  
*doon was weel doon; but herfore y seie it, that*  
*it hadde not be so doon if the emperour of Greek-*  
*lond hadde not be thanne in tho daies as ful*  
*lord and emperour of Rome, &c.* 8. Lastly,  
 the bishop questions the genuineness of the letter



*Fasciculus rerum, &c. vol. I. p. 124, &c.*

at a distance.

*Repressour &c. part IV. c. 1. &c.*

ter ascribed to *Constantine*, since it mentions a false fact, and is evident from three departed history, which he reckons more authentick, since he observes, that the *Greek* writers who were with the emperor at *Constantinople*, or near him, are more to be credited than other men dwelling farther from them in Rome.

39. The fourth governaunce of the church defended by our bishop, is the *Divers orders or degrees of clergy*. His lordship thus represents or states the question as it was then disputed betwixt the church and *Wiclifists*. In the clergy, saith he, be diverse states and degrees of overtie and nethertie, as, that above manye prestis soortid togidere into oon cuntree or diocese is oon bishop for to overse and attende, that alle tho prestis lyve and do as it longith to hem bi her presthode, and for to juge querelis, and pleintis and causis and strives, if eny such rise among summe of tho prestis, and for to redresse the wrongis whiche prestis doon to her parischenys, or ministris, if thei eny such doon. And above manie biscopis of a large cuntree, or a province is oon archibiscop, for to in liik maner overse and attende, that tho biscopis lyve and do as it longith to her bishophode, and for to juge querilis, and pleintis and debatis if eny such arise among tho biscopis, and for to redresse the wrongis which the biscopis doon to her prestis, if they eny such doon. And liik maner above many archibiscopis is oon patriark for to overse and reule and amende the gouernauncis of  
the

tho archibischopis. And above manie and alle patriarkis is oon pope for to overse and reule and amende the governaunces of tho patriarkis, and for to redresse wrongis, &c. Al this now rebercid gouernaunce and policie in the clergie, summe of the lay-peple deemen and seien to be naught, and, that it is brought in bi the devel and anticrist; so, that thei wolen alle priestis to be en oon degree, and noon of hem be above other of hem, and thei wolen, that undir prestis be dekenys, and no mo crdris, statis, or degrees in the clergie at al. And bicause, that suche bfore rebercid statis and degrees above prestis ben in the clergie, thei bacbiten and detracten the clergie, cleping the bige pope anticrist, and cleping all the othere lougher rebercid statis, above prestis, the antecristis lymes or membrs.

40. Dr. Wiclif thus delivered his opinion. *Dialogo. lib. Unum audacter assero, quod in || primitiva ecclesia, vel tempore Pauli, suffecerunt duo ordines clericorum, scilicet, sacerdos, atque dyaconus. Similiter dico quod tempore Pauli fuit idem presbyter atque episcopus. Patet 1. Timo. iii. et ad Titum i. et idem testatur ille profundus theologus Hieronymus, ut patet lxxxvii dist. c. olim. Tunc enim ad inventa non fuit distinctio papæ, et cardinalium, patriarcharum, et archiepiscoporum,* *IV. c. 15.*

I 4

|| The same was asserted by the two archbishops, the bishops, &c. of the church of England, in the reign of K. Henry VIII, The trouble is, say they, that in the newe testamente there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priestes or byshops. The institution of a cristen man. fol. 41. b. 42 a.

ibid. c. 26.

Questores  
prælati Cæsari.  
rei.

porum, episcoporum, & archidiaconorum, officialium, & decanorum *cum cæteris offitiiis et privatis religionibus quorum non est numerus neque ordo.* Elsewhere he observed, that there are three kinds of ministers of the church. The first and lowest are *simplices laborantes*, mere labourers or the common people; the second are potentates the defenders of the ordinances of Christ in the church; and the highest and last ministers are christian priests who truly preach the gospel. This part, he says, ought to be as the soul to the body of our mother; whereas in them, he observes, there is the greater deceit, since antichrist has, under the species of clergy, twelve proctors plotting against the church of Christ; namely, *popes, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deans, monks, canons, false-friars* introduced just now last of all, and *pardon-mongers*. All these twelve, and especially the \**Cæsarean prelates*, and *friars*, are infallibly the disciples of antichrist, because they take away the christian liberty, and lay burdens on the holy church, and hinder the law of the gospel from having so free a course as usual.

41. Our bishop in justifying the several orders of the clergy, and their different degrees, only pleads here for those of the *pope, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, priests* and *deacons*.

\* Prelates endowed by *Cæsar* with secular honours and offices.

*deacons.* ‘ This gouernaunce of the church,’  
 he says, ‘ holy scripture werneth not, and let-  
 ‘ teth not; as neither doth doom of cleerli  
 ‘ disposid resoun in kind; and therefore he  
 ‘ concludes, the seid gouernaunce is leeful.’

42. Having thus asserted the diverse orders  
 of the clergy, our bishop proceeds particularly  
 to defend the supremacy of the pope, which  
 is the *fifth* gouernaunce mentioned by him, as  
 opposed by the *Wiclifists*. It was observed  
 by the *English* bishops and clergy, *A.D.* 1537,  
 that, ‘ it was many hundred years after Christ,  
 ‘ before the bishop of *Rome* could acquire or  
 ‘ get any primacy or governance above any  
 ‘ other bishops out of his province in *Italy*;  
 ‘ but, that since that time he hath ever usurped  
 ‘ more and more.’ To the same purpose the  
 learned *French* lawyer *Duarene*; who, tho’  
 he says that in ancient times the principal see  
 of the bishops was in the *Roman* church, yet  
 observes, that at first, the bishops of that see  
 used that honour and dignity with great mo-  
 deration, so, that they always reckoned the  
 other bishops as their brethren and colleagues,  
 and never had it in their thoughts to bear rule  
 over them, like kings and princes. But as  
 riches and temporal honours flowed in upon  
 them, through the generous piety of the em-  
 perors and others, and their own crafty and  
 indirect management, this meekness and low-  
 lines of mind soon wore off, so that a heathen  
 historian of those times observes, ‘ they rode  
 ‘ about

*The institution  
 of a Cristen  
 man, fol. 47. b*

*De benefici.  
 Lib. I. c. 10*

*Ammi. Mar-  
 cell. lib. xxvii.  
 c. 3. A. D. 367.*



‘ about in chariots, wore very rich cloaths,  
 ‘ kept profuse tables, and exceeded even the  
 ‘ emperors in their entertainments.’ Who  
 now can wonder, that by degrees their heads  
 were so turned as to fancy themselves the em-  
 perors superiors, and that the extent of *their*  
 jurisdiction was equal to, or rather exceeded,  
 that of the emperor himself. But notwith-  
 standing this, we have evidence, that above  
 200 years after this time, the *British* bishops  
 disowned the popes supremacy over *them*, and  
 absolutely refused paying any subjection or  
 obedience to them as their head. Nay, when  
 on account of *Austin* the monk’s being sent  
 hither, by pope *Gregory*, to convert the *Eng-  
 lish Saxons*, he and his successors acknowledged  
 the primacy of the bishop of *Rome*, and pro-  
 fessed to pay obedience to him, it does not yet  
 appear, that for above 600 years after, any of  
 them were required, at their consecration to  
 take an oath of fidelity and obedience, to their  
 lord pope. There is no such oath in any of  
 those ancient rituals or ordinals which are pub-  
 lished by *Morinus*; so that it seems tho’ there  
 was such an oath framed by pope *Gregory*  
*VII.* about 1075, yet it was long before it was  
 generally received, or put into the forms of  
 ordination. At first the popes were so modest  
 as to exact nothing but a promise of obedience,  
 such as all inferiors gave to superiors; though  
 even this was more than *they* had any right to  
 require. Then there was a particular vow,  
 made

Bp. Burnet’s  
 vindication of  
 the ordinations  
 of the church  
 of England.  
 p. 87.

made by such as the popes sent in missions; such an one probably, was made by *Austin* to pope *Gregory I.* when he was sent by him into *England*. But pope *Gregory VII.* pretending to a higher power, not only over bishops, but secular princes, framed an oath† for the bishops to swear, which is almost the same with *that* in the pontifical. A little after, the council of *Lateran*, under pope *Paschal II.* appointed a more modest oath in the form of an anathematism, in which having anathematized all heresy, &c. the bishop elect promised obedience to the lord *Paschal*, pontifex of the apostolic see, and to his successors under the testimony of Christ and the church, affirming what the universal church affirms, and condemning what she condemns. But this oath, as modest as it was in comparison with the other, *Panormitan*, archbishop of —, in *Poland*, signified to *Paschal*, that the kings and grandees of that kingdom, were struck with

Decret. Greg.  
lib. I. tit. VI.  
c. 4.

† — That from that time forward he would be faithful to St. *Peter*, and pope *Gregory*, and his successors, that he would neither assist nor advise in taking away the life, dismembering, deposing, or imprisoning the pope, that he would come to his synods, when summoned by his nuncio's or letters, and be obedient to the canons thereof; that saving his order, he would defend and assist in maintaining the *Roman* papacy, and the regalia of St. *Peter*, that he would not disclose the councils of the bishops of *Rome*, to their prejudice, whether committed to him by themselves or their legates; that he would be assisting to their legates coming from, or going to *Rome*; that he would not knowingly communicate with those, who were by name excommunicated by the bishop of *Rome*; and that when he was called thereto, he would by a military force assist the church of *Rome*.

with admiration, that the pall was tendred to him by his †apocrisaries on such a condition, that he would take the oath which they administered to him, as set down in writing by the pope. That they objected to it, that all swearing was forbidden by the lord, and by the apostles after him, and could not be found ordained in any of the councils. To this *Pascal* replied, that they might as well wonder at *Jesus Christ* on this account, who when he committed the care of his sheep to *Peter*, did it with this condition, saying, *if you love me feed my sheep*. If the maker of consciences, and the knower of secrets made use of this condition, and that not only once but twice, and even to the making *Peter* sad, with what solicitude ought *we* to commit so great a prelacy of the church to the brethren, whose consciences we do not see? As to all swearing being forbidden by the lord, he asks what follows what our lord says? To which he answers himself, *whatsoever is more is from evil*. For, says he, *Evil* forces us, by his permission, to require this oath; is it not evil to withdraw from the unity of the church, and from the obedience of the apostolick see, and to break forth against the determinations of the canons, which many have presumed to do even after their

† *Apocrisarii* dicti præsertim qui a pontifice *Romano*, vel etiam ab archiepiscopis, ad comitatum mittebantur, quo res ecclesiarum suarum peragerent, & de iis ad principem referrent. Du Fresnoie Glossa.

their taking an oath ? by this *evil* and necessity are we compelled to require an oath for fidelity, for obedience and for unity. As to the objection, that this oath was not found decreed in councils, the pope answers, as if, says he, any councils had prefixt a law to the church of *Rome*, when all of them are held by the pope's authority, and have their sanction from *him*, and in their decrees the authority of the pope is manifestly excepted. He therefore concluded, that since the archbishop required the ensigns of his dignity, which are taken from the body of St. *Peter* alone, from the apostolick see, it is just, that he also should pay to the apostolick see the signs of due subjection, which declare him to be a member of St. *Peter*, and to keep the unity of the catholic head.

43. Of this reasoning of the pope's, let any one judge who can distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood. In the first place, he manifestly perverts and abuses our saviour's words to St. *Peter*, as if his asking *him* whether he loved him, was the same as imposing an oath of fidelity on him ; or, that his accepting *Peter's* affirmation, that he did love him, was a good reason for the popes exacting an oath of obedience to *them*. The like perverse meaning he puts on our saviour's words to his disciples, *whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil*. The plain and uppermost meaning of these words is this ; that men's swearing in their communi-



communication with one another, proceeds from some evil principle as vain-glory, want of reverence to the divine majesty, &c. or from the devil the evil one. But now the pope represents our lord as prescribing swearing as a remedy against evil, or a method to suppress and remove it. What he adds concerning councils, is a plain evidence of the insignificance of those assemblies in curbing the haughty spirits of the popes, and reforming their usurpations, since pope *Paschal* here owns, that no councils can prescribe laws to the *Roman* church, &c.

44. But this oath was, it seems, too modest to satisfy the ambition of pope *Gregory IX.* who therefore drew up another form, which was set out by him *A. D.* 1236. According to this, every bishop swore at his consecration, that, ‘ from that hour forward, ‘ he would be faithful to *St. Peter* and the ‘ holy *Roman* church, and to his lord pope ‘ *C*— and his successors canonically entring ; ‘ that neither in design, nor in fact, would ‘ he be any ways accessory to his losing life or ‘ limb, or being taken with an evil caption ; ‘ that he would not disclose to any one, to ‘ his damage, the council which he should ‘ make known to him, either by himself, his ‘ letters, or his nuncio ; that he would be assisting in defending and maintaining, against ‘ all men, saving his own order, the papacy ‘ of the holy *Roman* church, and the rules  
of

Decret. Greg.  
lib. II. tit.  
xxiv. c. 4.

‘ of the holy fathers ; that when he was called  
 ‘ to a fynod he would come to it, unless he  
 ‘ was hindered by a canonical hindrance ; that  
 ‘ the legate of the apostolic see, *whom he cer-*  
 ‘ *tainly knew to be so*, he would honourably  
 ‘ treat in his going and coming, and help in  
 ‘ his necessities ; and, that the thresholds of  
 ‘ the apostles he would every year visit him-  
 ‘ self, or by a certain messenger, unless he  
 ‘ was absolved from so doing, by their, the  
 ‘ popes, licence.’

45. These || additions did not yet satisfy the  
 pretensions of succeeding popes, since some-  
 time before *A.D.* 1414 the word *obediens* was  
 added after *fidelis*, the expressions *papatum* *Vita Henrici*  
*Chichele arch-*  
*chiep. Cant.*  
*sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, & regulas sanctorum*  
*patrum,*

|| The oath taken to the pope by archbishop *Cranmer* at his  
 consecration, was as follows. *Ego Thomas electus Cantuari-*  
*ensis ab hac hora, ut antea, fidelis et obediens ero B. Petro,*  
*sanctæ apostolicæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, & domino meo D. Cle-*  
*menti VII. suisque successoribus canonice intransibus. Non ero*  
*in consilio aut consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant vel mem-*  
*brum, seu capiantur mala captione. Consilium vero quod mihi*  
*credituri sunt per se aut nuncios, ad eorum damnum me sciente*  
*nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum, & regalia S. Petri ad-*  
*jutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum, salvo meo ordine,*  
*contra omnem hominem. Legatum sedis apostolicæ in eundo*  
*et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo,*  
*vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica*  
*præpeditio. Apostolorum limina, Romana curia existente*  
*citra Alpes singulis annis, ultra vero montes, singulis bienniis vi-*  
*sitabo, aut per me, aut per meum nuntium nisi apostolica ab-*  
*solvat licentia. Possessiones vero ad mensam mei archiepisco-*  
*patus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impigne-*  
*rabo, neque de novo infeudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, in-*  
*consulto Romano pontifice ; sic me deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta*  
*dei evangelia.*

inconsulto Ro-  
mano ponti-  
fice.

*patrum*, were changed for *papatum Romanum* & *regalia sancti Petri*; the clause *quem certum esse cognovero* was left out, instead of *nisi eorum absolvat licentia*, it was expressed *nisi apostolica absolvar licentia*; last of all was added the following clause, to make the bishop's yet more dependant on the see of Rome, viz. *I shall not sell, nor grant, nor mortgage, nor anew enfeof, nor any other way alienate the possessions pertaining to my archiepiscopal table, without advising with the Roman pontifex.*

Hall's chron.  
fol. 205, b.  
Hen. VIII.  
see archb.  
Cranmer's  
oath.

46. How long this oath continued to be expressed in these terms I cannot say, but in the *English* translation made by the command of K. Henry VIII about 1532. we may observe some variation from the present form. For instance, these clauses were added: *the rights, honours, privileges, authorities of the church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented and promoted. I shall not be in council, treaty or any act, in the which any thing shall be imagined against him or the church of Rome, their rights, states, honours, or powers; and if I know any such to be moved, or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions and commandments apostolic, to my power I shall keep, and cause to be kept of others; heretics, schismaticks and rebels*

to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power.

47. Some of these alterations and additions seem to have been made about our bishop's time, when the papal power was near at its utmost\* height in this kingdom; and the dispositions, reservations, provisions and commandments apostolic, universally obeyed and submitted to, without any opposition. By these gradual usurpations came the popes to claim, as sovereign monarchs, the following royal prerogatives, viz.

48. 'To be superior to the whole church†, and to its representative a general synod of bishops. To convocate general synods at his pleasure; all bishops being obliged to attend upon summons from him. To preside in synods, so as to suggest matter, promote, obstruct, and over-rule the debates in them. To confirm or invalidate their decrees or determinations; giving life or vigor to them by his assent, or subtracting it

Dr. Barrow's treatise of the pope's supremacy, p. 19.

\* ——— cu iuditas dominandi quando primum grassari cœperit, novi tituli, nova jura quando primum sint excogitata, quibus artibus, per quos gradus, quibus, quantisque motibus, bellis, sceleribus, paricidiis ad hoc fastigium humanæ potentiæ papa Romanus fuerit evectus; nemo qui proximorum seculorum historias legit, potest ignorare, nisi fungus est, aut iudicio divino excæcatur. *If. Casauboni exerci. XV. ad annales Baronii.*

† This Sir Thomas Moore denied, there are, saith he, orders in Christes church, by which a pope may be both admonished and amended, and hath ben for incorrigible minde and lacke of amendment fynallie deposed and changed.

*English Works, p. 621. col. 2.*

K

by



‘ by his dissent. To define points of doctrine,  
 ‘ or to decide controversies authoritatively;  
 ‘ so that none may presume to contest or dis-  
 ‘ sent from his dictates. To enact, establish,  
 ‘ abrogate, suspend, dispense with ecclesiasti-  
 ‘ cal laws and canons. To relax or evacuate  
 ‘ ecclesiastical censures by indulgence, pardon,  
 ‘ &c. To void promises, vows, oaths, ob-  
 ‘ ligations to laws by his dispensation. To  
 ‘ be the fountain of all pastoral jurisdiction  
 ‘ and dignity. To constitute, confirm, judge,  
 ‘ censure, suspend, depose, remove, restore,  
 ‘ reconcile bishops. To confer ecclesiastical  
 ‘ dignities and benefices by paramount autho-  
 ‘ rity, in way of provision, reservation, &c.  
 ‘ To exempt colleges, monasteries, &c. from  
 ‘ jurisdiction of their bishops and ordinary  
 ‘ superiors. To judge all persons in all spiri-  
 ‘ tual causes, by calling them to his cogni-  
 ‘ sance, or delegating judges for them, with a  
 ‘ final and peremptory sentence. To receive  
 ‘ appeals from all ecclesiastical judicatories;  
 ‘ and to reverse their judgments, if he findeth  
 ‘ cause. To be himself unaccountable for  
 ‘ any of his doings, exempt from judgment,  
 ‘ and liable to no reproof. To erect, trans-  
 ‘ fer, abolish episcopal sees. To exact oaths  
 ‘ of fealty and obedience from the clergy. To  
 ‘ found religious orders, or to raise a spiritual  
 ‘ militia for propagation and defence of the  
 ‘ church. To summon and commissionate  
 ‘ soldiers by *croisade*, &c. to fight against in-  
 fidels,

‘fidels, or persecute those whom the popes  
 ‘condemned as hereticks, or schismatics, or  
 ‘rebels against his authority’.

49. To so monstrous an height did the  
 popes carry their usurped authority: Insomuch  
 that it was disputed in the schools, ‘whether  
 ‘the pope could abrogate that, which was  
 ‘decreed by the apostles writings, or deter-  
 ‘mine that which was contrary to the evan-  
 ‘gelical doctrine, or make a new article in  
 ‘the creed. Whether he has greater power  
 ‘than *St. Peter*, or only equal. Whether  
 ‘he can command angels. Whether he can  
 ‘wholly take away purgatory. Whether he  
 ‘be a meer man, or as *GOD* participates  
 ‘both natures with *Christ*. Whether he be  
 ‘not more merciful than *Christ* was, since we  
 ‘do not read, that *he* ever recalled any from  
 ‘the pains of purgatory.’

*Erasmi annot.*  
*N. Testa. in*  
*1 Tim. i. 6,*

50. They did not indeed get this prodigious  
 power all at once, and without any opposition.  
 In *France* when pope *Boniface VIII.* told *Phi-*  
*lip* the fair, in his letter to him, that, ‘he  
 ‘was subject to *him*, in spirituals and tempo-  
 ‘rals, that the collation of benefices and pre-  
 ‘bends did not belong to him, nor their pro-  
 ‘fits in their vacancy, and that whosoever  
 ‘thought otherwise he reputed them fools,  
 ‘&c.’ The king returned him this smart an-  
 wer, *sciat tua maxima fatuitas in temporalibus*  
*nos alicui non subesse*, let your great fool-  
 ship know, that in temporal matters we are

*Cat. Testi. ve-*  
*ritatis, p. 1687*

subject to no-body. See the defence of the parliament of *Paris*, against the *Roman* court, for the liberty of the *Gallican* church.

Inter episto.  
Lanfranc. in  
biblio Cotton.

Mat. Paris  
hisor. ad an.  
1095, p. 19.  
ed. Watts.

Inet's origi.  
angli. Vol. II.  
p. 270.

51. Here in *England*, when pope *Gregory VII.* demanded of *William* the conqueror, his doing homage or fealty to him, the king returned him this peremptory answer, *fidelitatem facere nolui nec volo*, I have hitherto refused it, nor will I do it now. For which his majesty gave this reason, that he neither promised it himself, nor did he find, that his predecessors had done it to the pope's predecessors. In the controversy after this, betwixt *William Rufus*, and archbishop *Anselm* about appeals to the pope, the king was angry at the mentioning the pope's name, *quia tunc temporis ecclesia Romana schismate laborabat*, no one being to be owned here for pope, but whom the king and parliament acknowledged for such. The king therefore alledged, that as the emperor claimed it, as part of his office, to chuse whom he would for pope, and, that no one else had any thing to do to name him to the apostolic see, no archbishop or bishop of his kingdom should be subject to the pope or court of *Rome*, since he had all the liberties in his kingdom which the emperor claimed in the empire. Accordingly, though ten years were now elapsed since the death of pope *Gregory*, yet 'till the heat and zeal of *Anselm* did precipitate the resolutions of the church and kingdom, we have no marks of any disposition to

own

own the authority of either of the rival popes. These resolutions were to acknowledge *Urban* for pope, who by way of requital took *Anselm's* part against the king, and in a council held at *St. Peter's* in *Rome*, declared the king worthy of excommunication, and decreed all lay-men excommunicate that should presume to give investitures, &c. But the thunders of the papacy had not yet reached to *England*, or however the king and bishops had not at this time learned to dread and stand in awe of them; for the king remained immoveable, and the bishops as they had unanimously advised *Anselm* to submit to the king, and renounce the see of *Rome* whilst he was in *England*, so they remained steady in their duty to the king and their country, notwithstanding what had since passed at *Rome*.

52. One would have thought, that so violent a shock, added to the general opposition which this doctrine of the papal supremacy met with from all the western princes, had been enough to shame so groundless and impious an imposture out of the world. But ambition knows no bounds, especially when backed by interest, and flushed and encourag'd by the superstitious madness of the people. It was not long after this, that through the industry of the religious, the people were struck with such a panic dread of the popes thunderbolts, that, as if they had a deadning force, they were perfectly deprived of all sense of  
K 3 duty



duty and loyalty to their prince, or even of their own interest ; infomuch that the unfortunate prince K. *John*†, having been excommunicated by the pope, and his subjects being absolved by him, from their allegiance to him, was forced to resign his crown, and for the time to come to hold his kingdoms as fees of the papacy ; which he need never to have done, had his subjects had but a due sense of their duty and interest.

53. But this was too great a dishonour to be tamely submitted to by this prince's successors. The popes indeed still kept up their claim, and acted as if they had been really lords of the fee, and our princes and their subjects only their vassals, and tributaries. But against this we find very warm remonstrances made by our princes and their parliaments, tho' indeed to very little purpose. In K. *Edward* III. reign, pope *Urban* VI. gave that great prince notice of his intention to proceed against him, for not performing the homage which K. *John* acknowledged, &c. With this insolence the king acquainted his parliament, and required their advice ; to which it was stoutly answered by the common consent of the whole estate, ' that neither ' King *John*, nor any other king, could ' bring

Life of Dr.  
*Wiclif*, p. 17.

Cotton's ab.  
p. 102.

† Sir *Thomas Moore* absolutely denied, that the king had any power or authority to do this. *Never could any king of England*, says he, *give away the realme to the pope, or make the land tributary, though he would, nor no such money is there paid, nor never was.*

English works, p. 296. col. 1.

‘ bring his realm and kingdom into such thral-  
 ‘ dom and subjection, but by common assent  
 ‘ of parliament, the which was not done ;  
 ‘ therefore that which he did was against his  
 ‘ oath at his coronation, besides many other  
 ‘ causes. If therefore the pope should attempt  
 ‘ any thing against the king, by process, or  
 ‘ other matters indeed, the king, with all his  
 ‘ subjects, should with all their force and  
 ‘ power, resist the same.’ But notwithstanding  
 this resolute answer of the estates of the  
 realm, a monk, it seems, had the hardiness  
 to defend this unjust claim of the pope’s. To  
 him therefore Dr. *Wiclif* replied, and shewed, Life of Dr.  
*Wiclif*, p. 18,  
 tofore by K. *John* to the pope, ought not to <sup>317.</sup>  
 prejudice the kingdom of *England*, and did  
 not at all oblige the present king. That the  
 reason of this pretence was, that the lord pope  
 ruling the kingdom of *England* with less con-  
 troul, and at his own pleasure, temporal de-  
 mefnes may be heaped on the abbies without  
 any restraint.

54. In his other writings, *Wiclif* argued Of prelates,  
 against the prelates of his time, saying, ‘ that c. 14. MS.  
 ‘ it is not enough to believe in *Jesus Christ*,  
 ‘ &c. but if a man believe the bishop of *Rome*  
 ‘ to be head of the holy church. That secular  
 ‘ lords have no power upon clerks, but if pre- Of servants,  
 and lords, &c.  
 MS.  
 ‘ lates clepen them to chastise clerks when  
 ‘ they ben rebell, and wolen not ben amended Great sentence  
 of curse expl.  
 c. 11. MS.  
 ‘ by their prelates : That the king hath no

ibid, c. 11.

Thirty-seven-  
articles No. xx  
MS.

ibid No. xxiv.

schisma inter  
papas, c. 3.  
MS.Repreffour,  
part IV. c. 1.  
MS.

‘jurisdiction ne power of their persons, ne goods  
 ‘of holy church.’ He observed, that, ‘clerks  
 ‘wolen never cease, if they may, till they  
 ‘have fully destroyed kings and lords and their  
 ‘regalie and power.’ In another tract wrote  
 by one of his followers, we read thus;  
 ‘Cristen men ben not holden for to bileve that  
 ‘the bishop of *Rome*, that now lyveth in this  
 ‘peyneful lyf, is heed of al holi chirche in  
 ‘erth. This sentence is opin bi this, that  
 ‘Crist is heed aloon of alle holi chirche, as  
 ‘*Poul* seith in i. chap. to *Ephesies*, in the i.  
 ‘chap. to *Colossies*, and in the i. pistil to *Corin-*  
 ‘*thies*, the iii chap. Therefore if he chalaun-  
 ‘geth this dignite to him, he is a blasfemere,  
 ‘and lucifer, and antecrist.’ He therefore  
 concluded, that, ‘christene men ben not hol-  
 ‘den for to bileve, withouten opin groundinge  
 ‘of holi scripture or of resoun that maie not  
 ‘faile, that seynte *Petir* hadde more power of  
 ‘bynding and assoylinge than othir apostlis  
 ‘gretly lovid of *Criste*.’ And therefore he  
 called them, ‘anticrist’s clerkis, who hold,  
 ‘that the pope as vicar of *Crist*, and of *Petir*  
 ‘hath power in the chirche to do what he  
 ‘wole.’

55. Our bishop was so far ensnared by the  
 modish doctrine of his time, as to oppose this  
 opinion and reasoning of Dr. *Wiclif*’s. He,  
 on the contrary, asserted, that, ‘holi scrip-  
 ‘ture werneth not and lettith not this gover-  
 ‘naunce; that doom of cleerli disposed resoun  
 ‘in

' in kinde weerneth not and lettith it not ;  
 ' that the said governaunce is leeful ; that holi  
 ' scripture bothe in the oolde testament, and  
 ' in the newe allowith it ; and, that doom of  
 ' cleerli indisposit resoun, jugith, allowith  
 ' and approvith it.' In shewing, that holy  
 scripture alloweth it, he observed, ' 1. that,  
 ' in the oold testament GOD ordeynid oon  
 ' bishop to be above in reule and iurisdiccoun  
 ' to alle the preftis and dekenys, and so to alle  
 ' the clergie in GODDIS chirche being thanne ;  
 ' even as the pope is now oon perfoon above  
 ' in reule and in iurisdiccoun to alle preftis and  
 ' dekonys, and to alle the clergie in the chirche  
 ' of GOD being now. 2. That holi writ of  
 ' the newe testament makith menfioun, that  
 ' *Crist* seid to *Symount Petir* thus, *thou art*  
 ' *Symount the sone of Johanna, thou schalt be*  
 ' *clepid Cephas or heed*——*Petir*, ' says he,  
 ' was heed, in the maner in which noon of  
 ' the other apostlis was heed. And fithen ech  
 ' apostle was heed of oon certeyn parcel of pe-  
 ' ple, or ellis of alle the lay-peple of the worlde  
 ' jointli with his felawis, it solewith nedis, that  
 ' *Petir* was heed of al the clergie, and so of  
 ' alle preftis, and of alle the lay-partie. For  
 ' in noon otherwise can it be govun, that he  
 ' was heed in a dyverse and different maner  
 ' from ech other apostle.'——He proceeded  
 in quoting the usual texts cited for the prima-  
 cy, and argues like one who was strongly at-  
 tached to the pope. Elsewhere his lordship  
 affirms



*Treatise of  
faith, p. 28.*

affirms, that, 'the pope is of lyk auctorite,  
' and iuresdictioun with ech, or with the  
' grettist of the apostlis for to make positive  
' ordinauncis lyk as holi scripture bi power of  
' the apostle maad, and for to revoke thilk po-  
' sitive ordinaunce of holi scripture maad bi  
' the apostle.'

*Repreffour,  
part V. c. 1.*

56. The *sixth* governance defended by the  
bishop, is the orders of the religious. To  
these his lordship tells us, it was objected,  
that these distinctions were all wrong, and  
that they were wholly new. 'That bothe of  
' prestis and lay persoones ben sectis clepid re-  
' ligiouns maad to men, and also to wommen  
' for to be streighter to hem in eting and drin-  
' king, in speking, in wering, in going, in  
' sleping, and in aboute-walking, and in othere  
' dedis of worldlihode and fleischlihode, than  
' is the freedom of the lawe of kinde with the  
' settings to of *Cristis* sacramentis: Alle this,  
' summe of the lay-peple blamen bothe for the  
' dyuersite, and novelte so takun to be in,  
' otherwise than is the comoun maner of  
' othere men and wommen. And also thei  
' beren an honde, that the religious whiche  
' now ben had and usid han summe statutis and  
' ordinauncis being agens charite, and therefore  
' agens the law of GOD. And ferthermore  
' these blamers ascriven and geven the fynding  
' and the maintenaunce of alle suche sectis or  
' religious to the feend and to anticrist.—  
' That no good skile is whi tho religiose per-  
' soones

' soones schulden were so straunge and di-  
 ' verse formes of habitis fro her other cristen  
 ' bretheren—— That religiose monasteries,  
 ' nameliche of the begging religious, han  
 ' withinne her gatis and cloocis, grete, large, <sup>clofes</sup>  
 ' wiide, hige, and stateli mansiouns for lordis  
 ' and ladies therin to reste, abide and dwelle.  
 ' —— That tnei haw large and wiide chirchis  
 ' like sumwhat to cathedral or modir chirchis  
 ' of diocisis—— That bi the religioun of seint  
 ' *Fraunces*, the religiose persoones of thilk re-  
 ' ligioun, schullen not handel and touche with  
 ' her honde, neither bere aboute hem eny mo-  
 ' ney, that is to seie, eny gold or silver or o-  
 ' ther metal koynd; and git thei ben not  
 ' weerned bi the same religioun for to telle  
 ' such || money with a stik holdun in her hond,  
 ' neither for to keep it in her coffris, neither  
 ' ben thei weerned for to holde, bere, touche,  
 ' and handle cuppis and dischis, knyfis and  
 ' jewelis of silver and of gold, however pre-  
 ' ciose and delectable to the sigt tho jewelis  
 ' ben.

57.

|| *Erasmus* rallies the *Franciscans* or begging friars on this  
 head. *Rursum alios qui pecuniæ contactum ceu aconitum horreant  
 nec a vino interim, nec a mulierum contactu temperantes.* So  
 again, *alius gloriabitur sexaginta annos nunquam attactum pecu-  
 niam, nisi digitis duplici chirotheca munitis.* *Moriæ encomium.*  
 The founder of this order, *Francis*, forbid the friars to receive  
 any money, but this, it seems one of the popes interpreted to  
 mean their not touching any money, and they therefore to evade  
 that, used to take it with their gloves on, and tell it with a  
 stick.

*Ger. Lissrius*, comment. in *Moriæ encom.*

58. Our poet *Chaucer* thus introduces *Jack Upland*, asking a begging frier, ‘whether  
 ‘there is any perfecter rule than *Christ* him-  
 ‘self made, or that *Christ* approveth any more  
 ‘religions than one? Whether their habit  
 ‘made them men of religion; what betokeneth  
 ‘their great hood\*, their scapulary, their  
 ‘knotted girdle, and their wide cope; and  
 ‘why they used all one colour, more than  
 ‘other christian men? Why they held fi-  
 ‘lence, and eat flesh in one house more than  
 ‘in another? Why they would not touch  
 ‘any coined money with the crosse, or with  
 ‘the king’s-head, as they did other jewels  
 ‘both of gold and silver? What charity is  
 ‘this to burden the people by importunate  
 ‘begging, under colour of preaching, or pray-  
 ‘ing or singing mass? To lie to the people  
 ‘and say, that *thei* followed *Christ* in povertie  
 ‘more than other men, when yet in curious  
 ‘and costly housing, and fine and precious  
 ‘clothing, and delicious and liking feeding,  
 ‘and in treasure, jewels and rich ornaments  
 ‘they exceeded lords and other rich worldly  
 ‘men? What charity it was to feign so much  
 ‘holiness in their bodily clothing, which they  
 ‘called their habit, that many blind fools de-  
 ‘sired to die therin, more or rather than in  
 ‘another? He concludes, that if friars can-  
 ‘not or may not excuse them of the questions  
 asked

\* — Quot modiorum capax cuculla, quot digitis latum capillitium? *Erasmi* Moræ encomium.

asked of them, it seemeth that they be horribly guilty against GOD, and their fellow christians.'

59. So Dr. *Wiclif* objected to these friars, that they builden many great churches, and costly waft housen and cloisters, as it weren castels, and that withouten nede, where through parish churches and common-ways ben perred and in many places undon. — For by this new housing of freres, though it rain on the auter of the parish-churche, the blind people be so deceived, that they wolen rather geve to waft houses of freres, than to parish churches, or common waies though mens cattle and beasts ben perished therein.' On which he asks, 'what skill is it now to make so much cost in bilding, and laten old parish-churches fallen a-down?'

See a description of one of these monasteries and churches in the collection at the end of Dr. *Wiclif's* life, p. 307, 308. edit 1720

60. To these objections, which seem mostly, if not all, made against the begging friers, our bishop answers to this purpose. In the general he observes, that *the religiouns in Englonde han ben ful noble and profitable beggis and wardis thorougout these xxxiiij geeris in which we have been engaged in war with France,* C. 6. hedges  
*for to close and kepe and beggeyn and werne so manye persoones fro so micke gretter synnes into whiche ellis, if the religiouns hadden not be, the personnes schulden have fallen, and have be gilty. For, says he, take me alle the religiose men of Englonde, which ben now, and han ben in religioun in Englonde, these thirti geeris and*



## The LIFE of

mo now endid, in whiche xxx geeris hath be  
 contynuel greet warre betwix Englund and  
 Fraunce, and lete se what schulde have worthe  
 of the men in these geeris, if thei hadde not be  
 mead religiose. Lete se how thei schulden have  
 lyued, and what maner of men thei schulden have  
 be. Whether not thei schulden have be as weel-  
 myg alle othere men ben, and han be in this  
 xxxiiij wynters in Englund. And therefore  
 thei schulden be orgileful artificers or unpitiful  
 quest-mongers†, and forsworen jurors, or sow-  
 diers wagid into Fraunce, for to make miche  
 morthur of blood, yhe and of soulis, bothe in her  
 owne side, and in the Frensche side——No  
 man fynde agenward that tho persoones whilis  
 thei han lyved in religioun, han be gilty of so  
 miche

† These were the pardon-mongers, who were friars employed  
 by the pope, &c. to raise money for building churches, &c.  
 for which purpose they were empowered to assure the people of  
 so many days or years of pardon, upon condition that they gave  
 a certain sum of money toward the intended work. The pope  
 at last, made use of them for raising money to fill his own cof-  
 fers, or to raise portions for his neices. Dr. *Wiclif* reflects on  
 the prelates of his time, as, “deceiving poor men of their alms,  
 “by false pardons, making men to geve their nedy lifode to  
 “their cathedral churches——and suffring other false pardoners  
 “to disceyve the people for a little money.” So they are re-  
 presented in the *confessionale* Richardi, *qui dulcibus & adula-*  
*toriis verbis & mendosis ad se populum congregant ut duntaxat*  
*bona eorum terrena habeant & manducent & devorent.* Hence  
 our bishop stileth them unpitiful questmongers, since they spared  
 not the very poorest of all, but got whatever they could of every  
 body.

scarce

——These bilderes wiln beggen a bage ful of whete  
 Of a pure pore man that may onethe paye  
 Half his rent in a yere, and half ben byhynde.

Pierce the ploughman's creed.

*miche synne how miche synne is now rebercid, and of which thei schulden have be gilty if thei hadden not be religioſe. All which are weak reasonings.*

61. Our biſhop urges farther in behalf of the various orders of the religious; that GOD purvied manye dyverſe religiouns to be in the chirche, for that bi ſo greet a dyverſite had in ſo manye religiouns, what for dyverſite of outward habit, and of inward wering, and of diet, and of waking, and officying, and of ſitis or of placing, and of bilding, and of othere ſuche manie the mo of the peple ſchulde be provokid and ſtirid therby into religioun: That aſtir that eny man hath profeſſid eny of tho religiouns, and is receyved into it, if it can be openli provid and ſchewid, that he is bounden bi comaundement of GODDIS lawe for to do eny certein deede out of thilk religioun for eny certein while, or for al his lyvys tyme, ſotheli thilk religioun is noon harder, neither ſtreiter holding, but that thilk man ſchal have good leue and liſenſe for to wirche and do the ſo provideede out of the religioun for the ſame while.——For weel provid deede religioſe perſoones ben licencid for to leue perpetuali her profeſſid religiouns. Nunnys han be taken out of her cloiſtris, and han be weddid to princis; and monkis han be take out of her cloiſtris, and han be weddid and maad kings.——And clauſtral monkis han be licencid for to be ſumme heremytis, and ſumme reclusis, and manye monkis han be take out of cloiſtir liif to be biſchopis——But after all his lordſhip

lordship owns, that *summe harme and yvel cometh throug the havyng of such now seid multitude of †religious orders, and, that ech religioun now usid, the occupatiouns foundid and devisid bi the religioun, bisides the thre principal vowis, that is to seie, of chastite, of wilful and exproprial poverté, and of obedience to the prelate when he comaundith comaundementis of the religioun, mygte be myche amendid, both the occupaciouns of her prying, and officiying, and of her contemplacioun, and also the occupaciouns of her studyng and lernyng.* But then he observes, *that git not so greet harme and yvel cometh of there being so many orders of religion, as is excluded by the having of so greet a multitude; and, that the occupations of the religious being capable of being much amended, argueth not neither proveth tho occupaciouns to be naught neither to be unfrytful.*

62. To the objections made to the habits, stately houses, &c. of the religious, our bishop answers, that such variety of habits is for distinction sake, and to remind the religious of what they are, and what they have bound themselves to; that their stately buildings were of great convenience to persons of quality, and  
of

† Of the friars alone were four orders, viz. the *Carmelites*, *Augustines*, *Jacobites*, and *Minorites*, of the initial letters of which is made the word *CAIM*, and the name *Cain* being then so spelt, Dr. *Wiclif* calls their houses *Caim's castles*. *Dial. Lib. IV. c. 33.* These were commonly called the *white*, the *black*, the *austin*, and the *grey* friars.

of great use to the monasteries for great persons to repair thither ; that lords and ladies are thereby the more shut out of the world to attend to their religious concerns, and the monks can thus attend them the more constantly, and at the same time be supported and protected by them, and have less need to go a begging among poorer persons, and become chargeable to them ; that their magnificent churches, so very richly adorned and furnished, were most for the honour of GOD's service, and would contain more people.

63. Lastly, the bishop answers the particular objection made to the *Franciscans*, their having jewels of gold and of silver, and of precious stones, and knives and girdles harnessed with gold and silver, and their telling money with a stick's end, when by the rule of St. *Francis* they were to forbear handling and bearing of money. His lordship observes, that *to handle or bere money is a more homely entermeting with the same money, than is for to telle it with a stik ; and therefore the more homelyness is forborn, and the lasse comelyness is suffrid : That jewelis ben not in so manie kindis so redy and so nige to the uce in whiche the ha- ver mai delite him synfulli as in money—and therefore the more perol is forborn, whilis the lasse is suffrid to abide. And thoug it were so, that the telling of money with a stik were as great a neiging in komelynes to money as is bare handling ; and thoug the handling of jewelis were*

L

as



*as perilous as is the handling of money; yit thereof not solewith, that if eny man for devocioun wolde forbere the oon, that he ought forbere the other——For whi it is fair, good; and priseable to forbere the oon whilis he is not consteyned to forbere of hem bothe eny oon——Whanne a man is fre to leve bothe, it is priseable, and fair and honest, if he take the oon, and not bothe, and namelicke, sithen fewe othere taken eny of hem bothe.*

64. Hitherto the bishop had defended six of those usages of the church of *England*, which were opposed by the *Lollards*; there remained, according to his proposed method, *five* other usages or governances, to be vindicated from their objections. These were, 7. Prayers offered to saints, and the communication of merits commonly boasted of, and put to sale by the monks. 8. The vast number of precious jewels or utensils kept in churches or religious houses, which, it was pleaded, might better have been sold, and given to the poor; and the honour given to the images and relicts of saints. 9. The divine worship which was given to the eucharistical elements, the wafer and the wine. 10. The use of oaths usurped by the clergy, and imposed by them on others. 11. The use of capital punishments, and of war, or the croisade, approved by the church. But his lordship having largely treated of these governances in other discourses, declined saying any more of them in  
this

this book. Thus he expresse himself concerning the clergy's swearing, and making others to swear. *The xth principal gouernaunce agens which summe of the comoun peple erren is this; that the clergie in certein causes and matters swerith and makith othere perfoones for to swere; and allowith weel, that princis and her officers being undir hem bothe swere, and make othere men of the layte for to swere. Certis summe of the lay-peple holden this gouernaunce to be unleoful and agens the comaundement of GOD, and, that it is uttirli unleeful eny man for for to swere. Neuertheles for as mucche as this unwiis holding is sufficientli proued to be untrew in the booke filling the iiij tablis, in the secunde partie bi manye chapitris, therfore nothing therof here.* The bishop thus concludes this book. *And thus y eende this present book clepid the represser of ouer-miche blamyng the clergie. For which book, to thee LORD GOD, be preifing and thanking; and to all the seid ouermyche underneymers and blamers ful amendment. Amen.*

65. As to the invocation of seints or praying to them, Dr. *Wiclif* observed, that '*Christ* Dial. Lib. III. c. 30. himself is the mediator, the best intercessor, and most ready in every extremity: that it must be therefore foolish to seek after another intercessor, because two eligible things being proposed, he who chuses the less eligible is a fool: That *Christ* always lives with the father to make intercession, and is *paratissimus illapsus*

Ad captan-  
dum ejus col-  
loquium.

*' illapsus in mente cujuslibet viatoris qui ipsum  
' dilexerit.* Wherefore there is no occasion to  
' make use of the mediation of any saints to  
' get to the speech of him, since he is kinder,  
' and more ready to help us than any of them.'

He therefore concludes, that whether they are the fathers of the old law, or of the law of grace, how much soever they may be magnified, *non sunt laudandi in fide*, any farther than they are followers of the lord *Jesus Christ*. And hence, says he, has our church this reasonable custom, that whatsoever saint it prays to, it directs its speech to *Christ GOD*; not to that saint principally, but to *Christ*. Whoever is acquainted with the devotions of the *Roman* church, must be very sensible, that in them formal petitions are often made to the saints immediately, nay, that sometimes they join *GOD* and *them* together in their praises, and in the same *Glories*. *Dr. Wicklif*, therefore can mean no more than, that tho' the saints are formally and directly invocated, yet it is not from them that the petitioners expect the blessings they ask, but from *GOD* at their request. For instance, Saint *Erasmus* is thus address'd; *O saint Erasmus, the precious martyr of Christ—receive this prayer for the salvation of my body and soul; that through thy prayer GOD may vouchsafe to give to me food and raiment, &c.* So is the blessed virgin prayed to obtain, for the petitioner, of our lord *Jesus Christ* the indulgence of all his sins, &c.  
Dr.

*Horæ secund-  
um Sarum.*

*Primer of  
Salisbury.*

Dr. *Wiclif* therefore tells us, that many thought it would be good for the church, if there were no festivals of saints at all, but, that the festival of *Christ* was observed alone. Because then the memory of *Christ* would be more fresh, and the devotion of the people not be so unduly scattered or divided among his members. The same was the judgment of the great *Erasmus*, that the pastors of the church would do well, if they altogether abolished all the festival days, except the lord's day, and a few of the principal saints days. Episto. liber 31. ep. 43.

66. The popes had now for some time driven a very gainful trade of granting indulgences, or pardons, which they pretended was by vertue of the holy merits of saints, which they did more than was needful for their own happiness : These they claimed a power of communicating to others, whose merit was not so great, and accordingly pretended to grant to men thousands of years of pardon, which as Dr. *Wiclif* observed, was presuming to be even with GOD, in knowing certainly the coming of the day of judgment, and distributing of mercies to whom they pleased. In an humble imitation of this divine power claimed by the popes, the religious pretended to a communication of their merits ; and by granting to men and women letters of fraternity, confirmed by their general seal, to bear them in hand, that they should have part of all their masses, matins, preachings, fastings, wakings, and all other Life p. 138.



Life of Dr.  
Wiclif, p. 132,  
300.

other good deeds done by those of their order, both whilst they lived, and after they were dead. They likewise made men believe, that their singing of special prayers for people by name, as famulory and benefactory should turn to men after *their* granting and limiting. On which account scarce any one, who had any thing to give, but left a \*legacy to some of the religious orders, for them to sing a *trental* for their souls. These superstitions Dr. *Wiclif* and his followers opposed. They argued, that this was to forget the rightful dealing of GOD, for the good life of men; and to hold forth or recommend the dealing of sinful fools who know not the ableness of men, and the rightful doom of GOD: That such prayers were a false foundation of charity, and, that it appeared to them, that the principal intent of them was a grant of some temporal goods to the priests and of alms to the religious houses, which was not far from simony. They therefore affirmed, that a simple

\* Item, lego unum trental ad celebrand. pro anima mea.

Test. *Alice Pocock*, de *St. Nicholao* in *Taneto*, 1396.

Item, lego ad opus ecclesie fratrum in villa *Sandwich*, decem solidos ut fratres ibidem dicerent unum *Trentall* pro anima mea, & pro quibus teneor.

Test. *Johannis Sackett*, de *St. Petro* in *Taneto*, 1444.

Item, lego fratribus *Carmelorum* de *Sandwich*, 40d. Item, lego fratribus *Sti. Augustini*, *Cant.* 40d. Item, lego fratribus ordinis *Sti. Francisci*, *Cant.* 40d.

Test. *John Malyn*, de *Monketon*.

Item, lego fratribus *Carmelitis* de *Sandwich*, 6s. 8d.

Test. *Thomas Walter*, de *Birchington*, 1414.

ple *pater-noster* of a plowman, that is in charity, is better than a thousand masses of covetous prelates and vain religious full of covetousness and pride, false flattering and nourishing of sin.

67. By the inventories yet remaining of the jewels in cathedral and parish churches, it appears, that a prodigious treasure† lay there buried. This will be easily presumed by any one, who has the curiosity to look over the account of the ornaments or implements of the parish church of *Cranbroke* in *Kent*, as they were in those days of ignorance and superstition, when toys and baubles were a great part of religion. *Erasmus* thus describes the shrine of that rebel to his sovereign, and martyr to the pope, *Thomas Becket*, which he saw in the cathedral of *Christ-Church* at *Canterbury*. A case of wood, which covered a ‘golden one, says he, being lifted up or opened, by ropes or pullies, discovered inestimable riches; the vilest part was gold; all shined, glittered, and lightened with rare and very large gems, some of which were bigger than a goose’s egg.’ The like he says of the virgin mother’s chapel, that he never saw any thing richer; that it was more than a royal

*Poor vicar’s plea, &c.*

*Peregri. religi ergo. apud colloquia.*

L. 4

fight;

† It is remarkable, that the parish church of *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, had so many goods and utensils belonging to it, that there were sold of them, *A. D.* 1548, as what might well be spared, as many as came to £977-6-8.

*Dr. Prideaux’s Directi. &c. p. 30.*

fight; and that *specie longe superat opibus parathalassiam*, it was in appearance far richer than her temple at *Walsingham*. He accordingly makes one of his colloquists say, 'that he  
 ' sometimes seriously thought by what colour  
 ' they can be excused from sin, who expend  
 ' so great wealth in building, adorning, and  
 ' enriching of churches, so that there is no end  
 ' of it. He confessed, that in the sacred vestments, and vessels of the church, there  
 ' ought to be a dignity suitable to the solemn  
 ' worship in which they were used; that he  
 ' likewise desired the structure should be stately and majestic; but then he thought it superfluous, to have so many fonts, so many  
 ' candlesticks, so many images of gold; that  
 ' it was needless to lay out such immense sums  
 ' on organs, and queristers, when in the mean  
 ' while our brethren and sisters, the living  
 ' temples of Christ, were famished with hunger and thirst.' In the same manner did Dr. *Wiclif* argue. ' Prelates disceyven poor  
 ' men of their alms, for by false pardon they  
 ' maken men to geve their nedy lifestode to their  
 ' cathedral churches that have no need, and  
 ' make the poor men to hope of more thank  
 ' of GOD's mercy to don their almes to rich  
 ' houses and rich men, more than to don it  
 ' to their poor neighbours that ben bedrid, feeble, and croked and blind, and therewith  
 ' have nought of their own.' These objections our bishop, it may be, answered as *Ogygius*

Of prelates,  
 Chap. 9. MS.

Peregrinatio  
 religionis ergo  
 apud Collo-  
 quia.

gius in *Erasmus*, that, ' indeed there was no  
 ' pious and prudent man but would desire a  
 ' mean should be observed in these things;  
 ' but because this fault is owing to an excess of  
 ' devotion, it deserves some favour; especially  
 ' when we consider the very different distemper  
 ' of those who any wise plunder churches of  
 ' their riches. That these jewels or costly orna-  
 ' ments are almost all given by potentates and  
 ' monarchs, who would otherwise perhaps have  
 ' spent them worse in gaming, and war; that if  
 ' you take away any of these riches, in the  
 ' first place it would be counted sacrilege;  
 ' next they who used to give would withhold  
 ' their hands, and moreover be encouraged to  
 ' plunder them: That they who have these ri-  
 ' ches, are rather the keepers than proprietors  
 ' of them; and lastly, that its better to see a  
 ' church too much abounding with sacred u-  
 ' tensils and ornaments, than as some churches  
 ' are, naked and sordid, and more like stables  
 ' than churches.'

68. As to the *ninth* governance defended by  
 our bishop. It was Dr. *Wiclif's* opinion that,  
 ' the host ought to be adored, not because it  
 ' is any way the body of Christ, but for that  
 ' it contains within it in a hidden manner the  
 ' body of Christ.' But his followers, in the  
 little book which they presented to the parlia-  
 ment about the 18th year of king *Richard II.*  
 thus expressed themselves; ' the feigned mi-  
 ' racle of the sacrament of bread, leads all but

Dialog. Lib.  
 IV. c. 27.

Dr. *Wiclif's*  
 life, p. 299.



‘ a few into idolatry ; because they imagine,  
 ‘ that the body of Christ, which is never out  
 ‘ of heaven, is by vertue of the priests words  
 ‘ essentially included in the little wafer, which  
 ‘ they shew to the people.’

*Dalleus* adv.  
*Latinorum de*  
*cultus religiosi*  
*objecto tradi-*  
*tionem lib. II.*  
 c. 6.

This was a usage that was so far from ha-  
 ving any being in the first three ages of the  
 church, that it did not prevail till late, even  
 in the last times among the *Latins*, viz. not  
 ‘till the eleventh or twelfth century. But I  
 suppose our bishop defended it, as he believed  
 transubstantiation, and, that therefore the bread  
 which was adored at the elevation was not a  
 creature, but Christ himself.

*Antwerpia*  
 A. D. 1542.  
 fol. 89.

Thus is the rubric expressed in the canon of  
 the mass, according to the use of *Sarum*——  
 elevet hostiam parumper, ita quod non vide-  
 atur a populo ; et sic debet tenere quousque  
 dixerit verba consecrationis ; quia si ante con-  
 secrationem elevetur, et populo ostendatur,  
 sicut fatui sacerdotes faciunt populum idola-  
 trare adorando panem purum tanquam corpus  
 Christi, & in hoc peccant.

*ibid* p. 131.

Thirty-seven-  
 articles, No  
 14. MS.

69. As to the use of oaths, Dr. *Wiclif*'s  
 followers allowed, that G O D granteth to  
 swear by his own name or by himself ; and,  
 ‘ that it is leeful to swere bi GOD almighty in a  
 ‘ nedeful case, with three circumstauncis, in  
 ‘ truth, doom and rigtfulnesse. In the *fifth*  
 ‘ chapter of *Matthew*, said they, Crist forbid  
 ‘ not to swere bi the creatour, but bi the crea-  
 ‘ ture, as seynt *Jerom* witnessith there, and  
 seynt

‘seynt *Austyn* proveth there opinli bi holi  
 ‘scripture and resoun that to swere soth with  
 ‘due circumstance is not synne. For bi  
 ‘*Austyn* on *Jon*, and bi *Crisostom* on the pis-  
 ‘til to *Ebreis* the vi. chap. Crist swoor whanne  
 ‘he seide, *truli, truli, I seie to you*. And  
 ‘as *Austyn* witnesfith in the v. chap. of *Mat-*  
 ‘*thew*, *Poul* swoor oft in seiynge thus; GOD  
 ‘is witnesse to me, or thus, *I clepe GOD to*  
 ‘*witnesse to my soule*: And the aungil in the  
 ‘x chap. of *Apoc.* swoor bi GOD lyvinge in  
 ‘worldis of worldis.’ What Dr. *Wiclif* bla-  
 ‘med was, ‘mens swering customabli, needles-  
 ‘li, and oft unadvisedli and falsli by the mem-  
 ‘bres of GOD†, bi Christ, and bi sayntis.’  
 This he called idolatry, and observed that men  
 were encouraged thus to swear by the exam-  
 ples

Life of Dr.  
*Wiclif*, p. 131.

†———Hoc anno *Christi Jesu* in quo fecisti plurimos ho-  
 mines mori in *Anglia* emittendo (sanguinem) per juncturas & per  
 secessum, scilicet in illis partibus corporis per quas horribiliter  
 jurare consueverunt, scilicet, per oculos Christi, per faciem  
 Christi, per latera Christi, per sanguinem Christi, per cor In Kent the  
 Christi pretiosum, per clavos Christi in suis manibus & pedibus. vulgar yet use  
*Gascoigne* Dictio. Theo. Lawcus

To this profane swearing *Chaucer* alludes in the following heart for lord  
 words, where he intimates how it was reproved by the people christ's heart.  
 called *Lollers*,

*Sir, parish priest, quoth he, for GODDIS bones,  
 Tell us a tale as was thy foraward yore,  
 If wel that ye lernid men in lore,*

*Can mochil good, by GODDIS dignity.*

*The parson him answered benedicite,  
 What ails the man so sinfully to swere?*

*Our hoste answered——*

*I smell a Loller in the wind——*

*This Loller here will prechin us somewhat.*

Squires pro-  
 logue.

ples of lords and prelates, who commonly made, ech one for himself, an idol of some ||saint whom he worshipped more than GOD, for commonly they swore by our lady of *Walsingham*, *St. John Baptist*, *St. Edward*, *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, and such other saints, and charged more this oath than the oaths they swore by the holy trinity.

Col. 2706,  
 &c.

Provinciale p.  
 298, notes  
 col. 2, &c.

70. By the story of *William Thorpe*, preserved by Mr. *Fox*, it appears, that the *Wiclifists* thought it 'evil done, and great sin to 'swear truth, when in any manner a man 'may excuse himself without an oath. But 'if a man may not excuse himself without an 'oath, to them that have power to compel him 'to swear, then he ought to swear only by 'GOD, taking him only that is soothfastness 'to witness to soothfastness.' *Henry Knighton* therefore represents them as affirming, that it is not lawful to swear in any manner; though by what he adds, he seems to intimate that this is to be restrained to their common conversation, since he represents them as confirming\* what they said thus, *I am syker it is soth*, or thus, *without doubt it is so*. Our canonist *Lyndwood* tells us, that the *Wiclifists* affirmed, that *no truth is to be confirmed by an oath*,

|| Sanctorum *Alphei* et *Thome* martyrum patronorum nostrorum——sacris meritis & precibus. Sancte *Etheldrede* virginis patrone nostre——Sacris meritis, &c. Mandatum, *W. Gray Ep. Eliensis*, &c.

\* Sequela cujuslibet dicti eorum talis erat. *Jam. Syke*, *is soth*, &c.

*oath*; accordingly he argues against them on this supposition. He shews, that GOD swore by himself, and, that if he who is most perfect swore, it follows, that to swear is not against the law of perfection: That the angel swore *Apoc. x.* and, that the apostle swore *Rom. i.* GOD is my witness; which are the very same arguments which Dr. *Wiclif* used to shew the lawfulness of swearing. And yet he makes the following harsh and severe reflection; that, ‘since GOD, an angel, and ‘an holy man did swear, it is wonderful, that ‘an heretick will not swear, as if *he* would ‘be more holy than GOD, angels and saints: ‘but, that he seemed to be rather like the devil, since he did not remember, that he had ‘read, that the devil ever swore to the confirmation of the truth.’ In refuting the objections, which he pretends the *Lollards* used against swearing, he observes, that *Christ* does not say *omnino non jurabis*, but *non jurabis omnino*, which he thus explains; ‘he did not ‘forbid all swearing, but all causeless swearing, ‘least by swearing on every trifling occasion, ‘men might come to a facility of swearing, ‘and from thence to a habit of it, and from ‘thence to perjury.’ So St. *James*, he observes, when he says *above all things swear not*, ‘forbids indiscreet swearing, or swearing ‘for any cause without any distinction. He ‘does not absolutely forbid all swearing; but ‘only *voluntatem libidinosam jurandi, quia ad jurandum*



‘*jurandum non debet quenquam de honestate spontanea voluntas inducere.*’ This he says, ‘some expound to be the meaning of *omnino*, i. e. *ubique*, or without cause, or for a light cause, or indifferently *in omnibus*, & *in omnia.*’ So well did our learned canonist agree with those whom he condemned of heresy.

71. By the same story of *Thorpe*, we are shewn, that the *Wiclifists* thought it ‘not lawful to a subject, at the bidding of his prelate to kneel down and touche the holy gospel book, and kifs it, saying, *so helpe me GOD, and this holy dome*; for, that to swear upon a book is to swear bi creatures, and ‘this swearing is ever unleeful.’ To this opinion of theirs archbishop *Arundel* refers in his constitution, which orders, that no one shall presume to dispute publicly or privately, unless it be to have a true understanding of articles or points determined by the church. Among these he reckons, *the taking of oaths, by touching the holy gospels of GOD, and upon them in cases expressed in the law, and used in either court by all who are concerned.* Lyndwood notes, that it was not necessary, that the book on which they swore should be the *holy-gospels*, it was enough, that it was a sacred book; accordingly it was usual to swear on the † *tropery* or *tofer*, a book of sequences.

Three

Provinciale  
p. 110. col. 2.

† Nulla justitia defuit Johanni in curia mea. sed ipse—at-  
tulit in curia quendam *Toper* & juravit super illum.

*Rogeri de Havedon*, Annal. pars posterior Hen. II.

Three things were chiefly regarded ; that the thing on which they swore was holy ; that it was open, and not shut ; and, that it was in sight. *That oath*, he says, *obliged the swearer, whether it was made by GOD, or by the book of the holy gospels, or upon the altar, or upon the cross, or on any other holy thing.*

In what manner our bishop defended this way of swearing, I am not able to say. It is not improbable, that he excused it from the charge of idolatrie, as he did the worship of images.

72. The last governance here mentioned by our bishop, is the use of capital punishments, and of war approved by the church. By capital punishments, I suppose to be meant, the punishing heresy with death ; and by war approved by the church, is to be understood, I presume, the croisades which were so much encouraged by the popes.

73. As to the *first*, it is to be observed, that *Christ Jesus* gave this reason to *Pilate*, to shew, that his kingdom was not of this world, viz. that if it were of this world, then would his servants fight, that he should not be delivered to the *Jews*. Accordingly the great apostle of the *Gentiles* declared, that tho' he and the rest of the apostles walked in the flesh, they 2 Cor. x. 3,4 did not war after the flesh, nor were the weapons of their warfare carnal ; that their armour was the armour of righteousness, and Ephes. vi. in particular the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation

2. Ep. i. 2.

salvation, and the sword of the spirit : and that they approved themselves, as the ministers of GOD in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities and in distresses. He shew'd *Timothy*, that tho' if any man taught otherwise, than he had instructed *him* to teach, and consented not to wholesome words, the words of our lord *Jesus Christ*, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he should withdraw himself from such ; yet the servant of the lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, and of a forbearing temper, in meekness instructing those that opposed themselves.

74. After the death of *Christ* and his apostles, for above two hundred years, so far were the bishops and pastors of the church from having the secular arm at their beck, to execute their sentences on those they thought fit to deliver over to it, that they themselves were in bonds, imprisonments, and endured persecutions and tribulations for the sake of the gospel. They were armed with no other defence than that of their doctrine, their prayers and tears, and had no other weapon to fight against hereticks with, than the sword of the spirit. Accordingly they opposed with all their might all cruelty and persecution on account of religion. Thus *Tertullian* bids the heathens consider, whether this was not for the advantage of irreligion, their taking away the freedom of religion, and forbidding men the choice

Erasm. epist.  
lib. xxxi. ep.  
47.

Apologet. c.  
24.

‘choice of the object of divine worship, so  
 ‘that they might not worship whom they  
 ‘would, but were forced to worship whom  
 ‘they would not. Since no one, not even a  
 ‘man, would be worshipped by any one against  
 ‘his will.’ So in the same apology he thus  
 expresses his sentiments: ‘Since it so plainly ap- C. 38.

‘pears to be wrong to force free men against  
 ‘their wills to sacrifice, for that otherwise  
 ‘a willing mind is required to the performance  
 ‘of any divine matter, it must certainly be  
 ‘thought foolish for any one to compel an-  
 ‘other to honour the gods, whom for their  
 ‘own sakes, they ought of their own accord  
 ‘to appease.’ To the same purpose in his  
 book to *Scapula*. ‘Its the right of mankind, C. 11.  
 ‘and their natural privilege, for every body  
 ‘to worship that which he shall think best;  
 ‘nor does any one man’s religion profit or in-  
 ‘commode another. Besides, its no part of  
 ‘religion, to force religion, which should be ta-  
 ‘ken up voluntarily and not by constraint; since  
 ‘even sacrifices are required to be offered with a  
 ‘willing mind; so that tho’ you by force com-  
 ‘pel us to sacrifice, you’ll thereby do nothing  
 ‘for your gods, since unless they are spiteful,  
 ‘they will never desire sacrifices from such as  
 ‘are unwilling to offer them, and if any of  
 ‘them be of so spiteful a temper, he is not a  
 ‘GOD.’ St. *Cyprian* follows his master *Ter-*  
*tullian* in delivering the same sentiments; thus  
 he expresses them, according to the fine trans-

M

lation



Epist. IV. ad  
Pomponium  
de virginibus.

lation of Dr. *Marshal*; speaking of the ex-  
communication of offenders, he proceeds thus

— 'GOD hath commanded such to be  
' slain as obeyed not his priests, as refused to  
' hearken to his judges who should be appointed  
' for the time being: *Then* indeed the tem-  
' poral sword took vengeance of them, as the  
' carnal circumcision stood then in force; but  
' *now* that a spiritual circumcision hath begun  
' to take place among the faithful servants of  
' GOD, the presumptuous and obstinate among  
' *us*, are put to death by the sword of the spirit,  
' and by being cast out of the church.'

Maximo pref-  
bytero. c. 1. 2.

75. So in his *livth*. epistle, refuting those who  
separated themselves from the church, he  
thus bespeaks them. 'And indeed the cause  
' seemed to me to be plainly this; that you  
' left all your glory behind you in your prison,  
' when upon your coming out of it, you suf-  
' fered yourselves to be entangled in the errors  
' of heresy and schism. The honour of your  
' character seemed, I say, to be left there be-  
' hind you, when the soldiers of Christ returned  
' not to his church, upon their being let out of  
' prison, into which they had been thrown,  
' with the praises and gratulations of his church  
' attending them. For though tares should  
' appear in the church, yet *that* should give  
' no scandal to our faith and charity, nor should  
' we leave the church because we observe *them*  
' in it. Our business is to labour with all our  
' might, that we ourselves may be found true  
' wheat,

'wheat, that so when the time shall come  
 'for gathering the wheat into our lord's barns;  
 'we may reap the fruit of our honest endea-  
 'vours. The apostle saith in one of his epis-  
 'tles, that *in a great house there are not only*  
 'vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and  
 'of earth, and some to honour and some to dis-  
 'honour. We therefore should strive as far as  
 'we are able, to become vessels of gold or sil-  
 'ver; but as for those of earth, we should  
 'remember that the *breaking them*, belongeth  
 'only to our lord, who alone is intrusted with  
 'the *rod of iron*. The servant must not pre-  
 'tend to be greater than his master, nor ought  
 'any person to assume to himself a privilege  
 'which the father hath granted only to his son;  
 'or imagine, that he is fit or able to manage  
 'the shovel or fan, or to purge the floor, or to  
 'separate all the tares from the wheat, by the  
 'power or sagacity of human judgment. 'Tis  
 'obstinate pride, and a presumptuous robbery  
 'of GOD, which makes men so rash and so  
 'assuming.'

76. Again in his lixth *epistle*, 'nor should any  
 'one, says he, be surprised at observing, that  
 'the bishop, who is but a servant, should be  
 'forsaken by certain persons; since the master  
 'himself was left by his disciples, though he  
 'performed such great wonders, and shewed  
 'forth the power of GOD his father in them,  
 'yet did not he upbraid them when they were  
 'going from him, or give out any severe threat-  
 nings,

'nings against them, but only turning to his  
 'apostles asked them, *will ye also go away?*  
 'Therein preserving the law inviolate, where-  
 'by man is left to his liberty of chusing for  
 'himself either death or salvation.' And a  
 little after, 'as for ourselves, dear brother,  
 'we must be careful, that none fall away from  
 'the church through any fault of ours; but  
 'if any by their own choice, and through  
 'their own fault miscarry, and refuse to do  
 'penance, and to return into the church; we  
 'who consult their safety, shall be blameless  
 'in the day of judgment, whilst *they* only  
 'shall remain obnoxious to punishment, who  
 'would not hearken to our *wholesome counsel*,  
 'nor make any use of it.' In this manner did  
 these\* two doctors of the church express their  
 dislike

\* PAMELIUS observes, that these very fathers  
 elsewhere express themselves as of a quite contrary opinion.  
 To prove this of the first of them, he instances in a passage in  
 the beginning of his book called *Scorpiacum*, of the good of mar-  
 tyrdome, viz. *ad officium hæreticos compelli, non illici dignum,*  
*est. Duaritia vincenda est, non suadenda.* As for St. Cyprian  
 he quotes his exhortation to martyrdome, and his 55th epistle to  
*Antonianus*, § 5. where the father thus speaks. *If before the co-*  
*ming of Christ, these precepts concerning the worshipping of GOD,*  
*and despising of idols were to be observed; how much more are*  
*they to be followed since his coming, when he has perswaded us,*  
*not only with words but with deeds.* Having after he had suf-  
 fered all manner of injuries and reproaches, been also crucified  
 that he might teach us by his example to suffer and die; that no  
 man might have any excuse for not suffering for himself, since  
 he suffered for us; and since he suffered for other mens sins, much  
 more ought every one to suffer for his own Both Tertullian, and St.  
 Cyprian are speaking of the same thing, viz. the laws made for the

dislike of all force and violence in matters of conscience, and eternal salvation.

77. *Lactantius* is yet more clear and open in maintaining the same doctrine; after having challenged the heathens to defend their gods, and put them in mind of their being able to do nothing by force towards the destruction of christianity, which the more increased, the more it was oppressed, he adds, that, 'there  
' is no need of force and violence, because re-  
' ligious cannot be compelled; and that it may  
' be a man's free choice, the matter ought to  
' be transacted by words or arguments, not by  
' blows. Let them therefore draw the sword  
' of their wits; if their reasoning be good, let  
' it be produced; we are prepared to hear them  
' if they will but instruct us; but we no more  
' believe those who say nothing, than we yield  
' to them who torment us with their cruelties.  
' Let them imitate us, and give an account of  
' the whole matter; for we do not, as they  
' object to us, entice men, but we teach them,  
' we prove, we demonstrate to them; there-  
' fore is nobody detained by us against his own

Divin. Justi.  
lib. v. c. 19.

M 3

consent

the punishment of idolaters under the Mosaical dispensation. To this *Tertullian* plainly refers, when he observes, that it was then thought meet, that hereticks should be compelled, &c. Idolatry was under that theocracy an act of high-treason against the sovereign, and therefore was punished with death. But it does not thence follow, as *Pamelius* and cardinal *Bellarmino* would have it, that in a christian common-wealth where the sovereign is not GOD but a man, heresy is to be capital; or to be punished with death.



' consent ; since he is useless unto GOD, who  
 ' has not faith and devotion ; and yet nobody  
 ' leaves us, the truth itself retaining him.'  
 And a little after, ' they may know therefore  
 ' from hence the difference betwixt truth and  
 ' falshood, seeing they themselves, tho' they  
 ' are eloquent, cannot persuade, when the rude  
 ' and unskilful can, because the thing speaks  
 ' itself, and is the truth. Why therefore are  
 ' they so cruel, as to propagate their folly, when  
 ' they should rather lessen it ? Hanging and  
 ' devotion are very different things ; nor can  
 ' either truth consist with force, nor justice  
 ' with cruelty——But the established re-  
 ' ligion is, say they, to be defended ! O how  
 ' do the wretches wander by having their  
 ' wills ! For they think there's nothing in  
 ' this world more excellent than religion, and,  
 ' that they ought to defend that with the ut-  
 ' most violence ; but they are deceived, as in  
 ' the religion itself, so in the kind of its de-  
 ' fence ; for religion is to be defended, not by  
 ' killing others, but by dying ourselves ; not  
 ' by cruelty, but by patience ; not by wicked-  
 ' ness, but by faith ; since those are the qua-  
 ' lities of the wicked, these of the good ; and  
 ' its necessary, that in religion there should be  
 ' good and not evil. For if you'll defend re-  
 ' ligion by shedding blood, by torments, and  
 ' by doing evil, you will not defend religion,  
 ' but pollute and violate it. For nothing is so  
 ' voluntary as religion, in which if the mind  
 ' be

'be averse, religion is gone and nullified. Right  
'reason therefore is, that you defend religion  
'by patience or by death, in which if the  
'faith be kept, it is both acceptable to GOD  
'himself, and adds authority to religion.'  
To the same purpose in the next chapter, C. 20.

'that is not a sacrifice which is extorted from  
'one, who is unwilling to offer it. For un-  
'less it be offered voluntarily, and with a wil-  
'ling mind, it is an execration; since men of-  
'fer it as they are compelled to it, by pro-  
'scriptions, by wrongs, by imprisonment, and  
'by torments. If they are Gods who are so  
'worshipped, even for this very reason they  
'should not be worshipped, because they de-  
'sire to be worshipped in such a manner; see-  
'ing they deserve the detestation of men, by  
'whom they are sacrificed to with tears and  
'groans, and the blood flowing from all parts  
'of their bodies. But we on the contrary  
'don't desire, that any one against his will, or  
'whether he will or no, should worship our  
'GOD, who is the creator of all things; nor  
'are we angry with him if he does not wor-  
'ship him.'

78. Such was the harmless faith of the first  
christians, expressed according to the pattern  
of the gospel, when as yet the world had not  
entered into the church, and by its pride  
and splendor perverted the minds of christians,  
and corrupted their innocent manners. But  
after that christians came to have the reins of

*Limborchi*  
historia in-  
quisitionis, Lib. i.  
c. 2, 3.

A. D. 313.  
*Eusebii de vita  
 Constantini,  
 Lib. ii. c. 60.*

the civil government in their own hands, by the conversion of the emperor *Constantine* to christianity, with this change of their fortune, there soon followed a change in their doctrine and behaviour; insomuch, that their degenerate posterity, leaving the footsteps of their ancestors, at length brought back into the church, the heathens cruelty, nay a cruelty more severe than that of the heathens was. What gave the † first occasion to it, was the contention that happened betwixt *Alexander*, bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Arius*, a presbyter of the same church. The emperor had before this published an edict, in the conclusion of which, he exhorted his subjects both christian and pagan to live quietly and neighbourly together, and not to injure one another on account of their different opinions, telling them, that its one thing voluntarily to undertake a warfare for immortality, and another to be compelled to it by force. But amidst these pleasing cares of his to preserve peace, tidings were brought to him of a great tumult being raised

† The emperor in his letter to bishop *Alexander*, &c. mentions some in *Africa* who through a rash levity had dared to divide the religion of the people into diverse sects, and observes, that he had endeavoured to cure this distemper. In this he is thought to refer to the Donatists, who were very tumultuous, and of whom the catholicks often preferred complaints to the magistrates, concerning their injurious treatment. St. *Auustine* therefore tells us, that *Constantine* was forced to make a very severe law against them, viz. that the places in which they held their religious assemblies should be all confiscated to the exchequer. The date of this edict, *Pagi* conjectures is, A. D. 316.

raised in the church, and all things being in the utmost confusion; that not only were the bishops divided among themselves on account of some religious opinions but, that the people were distinguished into parties, some taking one side, some another; and, that these unhappy contests were not confined to the church of *Alexandria*, where they first began, but like fire had spread, and taken hold of the † other parts of the empire. On this the emperor wrote a letter, which he directed to *Alexander* and *Arius*, in which he blames them both, and seriously exhorts them to mind the things which make for peace; for which purpose he observes, that, so far as he could find, the first cause of all these differences was very small, and no way deserving so much zeal and contention about, being only a strife about words. But so exasperated were the minds of the several contending parties, and so totally had they lost all manner of good temper by their drawing blood in controversy, that all the emperor's endeavours to restore the peace and tranquillity of the church were to no purpose; neither were *Alexander* or *Arius* at all softened by them, and among the people, there were still very great tumults and contentions. To remedy these evils therefore, the emperor resolved to assemble a general council

Ibid, c. 64, &amp;c.

Socratis hist.  
Lib. i. c. 9.

† Διαδραμον την συμπασσαν Αιγυπτον τε και Λιβυην,  
την επεκεινα Θεβριδα ηδη δε και τας λοιπας επεγεμε-  
στας τε και πολεις.



ed to meet at *Nice* ; the conclusion of which was, that not only *Arius* and his books called *Ithalia* were condemned, but even the words or manner of expression in which he explained his opinion. On this occasion the emperor published an edict directed to the bishops and people, wherein it is declared, that as *Arius* had imitated wicked and ungodly men, he deserved with them to undergo the punishment of being declared infamous ; and it is ordered, that whatever books are found written by *Arius*, should be burnt, and, that if any one shall be discovered to have concealed any book written by him, and not forthwith to have burnt it, τοῦτω θανάτῳ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐνμυσία, he shall immediately be put to death or fined ; the reason of which severity, is said to be, that no remembrance of *Arius* might be left to posterity.

*Eusebii de vita  
Constantini  
Lib. iii. c. 64  
65.*

Not content with this wholesome severity he issued another edict against the followers of *Arius*, who were now stiled hereticks, whereby it is ordered, that the conventicles of their superstition, (so their oratories or churches are now called, as those of the christians were named but a little before by the heathens) should be taken from them, and without delay delivered up to the catholick church, and their other places be condemned to the publick, and, that hereafter they should have no licence or liberty of assembling themselves together. The reason of this rigour, is said to be, that it is expedient, that men should turn  
away

away their eyes and ears from these things, lest the pure and sound confession of their faith be corrupted by the hereticks particular exposition; and, that they cannot be tolerated without the danger of the sound and strong being infected as with a pestilential distemper.

79. Such harsh remedies as these being used, and the secular arm thus interposing to inflict civil punishments on those, whose doctrine was condemned by the sentence of councils, and whom it became the fashion to call by the infamous or reproachful name of hereticks, thereby the more effectually to expose them to the hatred of the common people. The severity was not restrained to one sort of punishment; but others were added on the back of one another, that so the doctrine condemned by a council, might if possible be altogether extirpated, as having no followers. From pecuniary punishments they proceeded to confiscation of estates, to banishment, and at length to blood and slaughter; for cruelty rarely stops within its first bounds, but when once a door is open'd to it, it presently disperses itself on all sides, and has on every occasion new additions and encrease. This appeared very plainly in this coercion of hereticks, of which I am now speaking; for first of all laws were made against hereticks, by which they were forbidden to have churches, to hold any assemblies, to possess any goods of the church, to consecrate bishops, to ordain priests, to make their wills,

Limburchi  
histo. Inqui.  
Lib. i. c. 3.

Codicis lib. 1.  
tit. 5.

wills, to be executors to others, and to have or enjoy any publick offices. It was provided by the severest laws, as I have shewn, that their books should not be copied or preserved; and as christians thus imitated the heathens in persecuting dissenters, so they particularly followed the example which the emperor *Julian* had given them, in destroying their schools, a thing which the || heathens themselves thought cruel and severe.

80. These were indeed the laws of the civil magistrate, but nobody, who compares the present times with those that are past, can doubt but that, they were made and promulged with the consent and approbation of the bishops, if not by their advice; since its very earnestly contended for, that in any one place of the same kingdom, monarchy, province, dominion, republick, city or town, different religions are not to be admitted.

81. Nor were the \**Arians* at all behind-hand with the orthodox, when *they* came to have

Adnotatio.  
*Jac. Pamelii.*  
in *Tertul. scor-*  
*piacum.*

|| Jura condidit, *Julianus*, non molesta, absolute quædam jubentia fieri vel arcentia, præter pauca; inter quæ erat illud *inclemens*, quod docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos & grammaticos christianos ni transissent ad numinum cultum. *Ammia. Marcelli*, lib. xxv. c. 4.

\* Non dissimili tamen de causa et illa olim et postea *Al-mondarus* in senso in partes Romanas animo fuit: ob christianos scilicet, qui ejusdem cum *Arabum* christianis sententiæ fuerant durius tractatos. Hac autem differentia, quod sub *Mawiah Arrianismi* fautores *orthodoxos*, sub *Al-mondaro*, *Orthodoxi Jacobitarum* hæresim amplexos persequerentur. *Pocock* specimen histo. Arabum, p. 85, 137.

have the power in *their* hands, or the emperor on their side. *Athanasius*, in his letter to those who lived a solitary life, relates several instances of their cruelty; as that in *Egypt* they scourged the bishops, and bound them with bitter bonds; that they sent *Sarapammon* into banishment, and laid such heavy strokes on the neck of *Potammon* as to leave him for dead, and, that not long after he died with grief, and the blows which they gave him; that they forbid a dead woman to be buried; that they ejected a great many bishops from their sees, and sent them into exile, and obtained an edict from the emperor, that not only should those bishops be deprived of their cities and churches, but be punished with death, wherever they should be found. Many other instances of the same, or a more cruel nature, may there be met with.

82. In the *Latin* church, St. *Augustine* was one who bore a great sway, and to whose judgment and opinion a very high regard and deference was paid. Now he, though in his former writings he condemned the use of all force in matters of religion, yet afterwards being heated with dispute, and teized by opposition, he very largely shewed, and warmly contended, that hereticks might be compelled by outward force and the fear of punishments. These punishments indeed he would not have to be such as deprived men and women of their lives, but any thing short of *that* he was for;

*Limborchi*  
histo. inqui.  
lib. i. c. 6.



for; they might be banished and outlawed, by which means life might be rendered more bitter than death, but they must not have the privilege of putting an end to the torments of an unhappy life, stripped of all the comforts and enjoyments of it, by dying a speedy death. The bishops of Rome therefore improved on this opinion; they not only were for punishing those they called hereticks, with inflicting on them, in their lives, all the plagues and calamities which this world affords, but they endeavoured, by the most cruel and barbarous inventions, to make the bitterness of death as great as possible. And, that those they called hereticks might not possibly escape this their persecution, they at length inserted into the oath, which all bishops were to take to the pope at the time of their consecration, this clause *† hæreticos, schismaticos, & rebelles eidem domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar & impugnabo.* Hereticks, schismaticks and rebels, to the same our lord, or his foresaid successors, I shall resist and persecute to the utmost of my power. Instances of this we have but too many in the more than

Pontificale  
Romanum  
p. 60. edit.  
Antwerpiæ  
1627.

† When this persecuting clause was first inserted I can't say, but it is not in pope Gregory's form, nor in the oath taken by archbishop Chicheley, A.D. 1414. nor in that sworn by archbishop Cranmer. Mr. Collier, out of a disposition to find fault with bishop Burnet's history of the reformation, and to colour over the deformities of the church of Rome, is so hardy as to affirm, in direct contradiction to plain matter of fact, that the word in this oath is not *persequar* but *prosequor*. *Eccle. Histo.* Vol. II. p. 68. col. 2. mar.

than barbarous insults and cruelties which were practised towards the poor harmless *Albigenses* and *Vaudois*. One of these instances of their brutality, I'll here mention, as being done here in *England*. The historian tells us that, 'in the reign of K. *Henry II.* some vagabonds came into *England*, of that sort, as it was believed, whom they called publicans or puritanes. There were of them somewhat more than forty men or women; being asked in order concerning the articles of the holy faith, they answered right as to the substance of the supreme physician, but as to his remedies, by which he vouchsafes to heal men's infirmities, that is the divine sacraments, they spoke very perversely. On this they were admonished to do penance, and be united to the body of the church, which wholesome counsel, the historian says, they despised. They were then threatened on this pious pretence, that they might be driven through fear to repent, but they derided these threats, abusing, as the historian terms it, 'that saying of our lord's, *Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven*. The bishops then out of their care, that the heretical poison might spread no further, having publickly denounced them hereticks, delivered them over to the catholick prince, to be put under corporal discipline. He ordered, that the mark of heretical infamy should be burnt on

*Gul. Neubri.*  
*Histo. lib. 11.*  
 c. 13.

' on their foreheads, and that, in the sight  
 ' of the people, they should be whipped and  
 ' expelled the city, strictly forbidding any one  
 ' to receive them into their houses, or to pre-  
 ' sume to afford them any comfort. The  
 ' sentence being pronounced, they were led  
 ' rejoicing, to what the historian calls the jus-  
 ' test punishment, the master going before  
 ' them, not in a slow manner as if he was  
 ' loath to come to the place of torment, and  
 ' singing as they went, *blessed shall you be when  
 ' men hate you, &c.*' The historian thus de-  
 ' scribes the manner of the execution of this  
 ' cruel and barbarous sentence. ' He who was  
 ' the principal of them, as a sign or token of  
 ' his mastership, was doubly burnt, viz. in  
 ' his forehead and about his chin, the others  
 ' were only burnt in their foreheads, their  
 ' cloaths were cut up to their girdles, and  
 ' they were publicly lashed and whipped out  
 ' of the city, where they miserably perished†  
 ' with the extremity of the cold, it being win-  
 ' ter, and no one daring to shew them the  
 ' least pity.' Who can read this without  
 ' weeping? And yet the historian, out of his  
 ' zeal against heresy, is so void of all bowels  
 ' of compassion, as to call this hardheartedness  
 ' and

† This was in the year 1161. But of this cruelty the king  
 seems to have lived long enough to repent. Since in 1182, one  
 and twenty years after, and but seven before his death, he would  
 not consent, that they should be burnt any where in his domi-  
 nions, though there were great numbers of them.

and inhumanity the *godly rigour of severity*. However by this we may see, that as yet the ordinary corporal discipline for hereticks, here in *England*, was not burning them to death ; this was a discipline, that, however it was favoured by our common law, was not allowed by statute, nor commonly practised till above two hundred years after this time, when it was enacted||, that any person refusing to abjure, or relapsing after abjuration, should be delivered to the secular arm, and, that ‘ the sheriff, &c. the same persons after such sentence promulgate shall receive, and ‘ them before the people, in an high place, ‘ do see to be burnt ; that such punishment ‘ might strike fear into the minds of others, ‘ whereby no such wicked doctrine, and heretical and erroneous opinions, nor their authors nor fautors in this realm and dominions, ‘ against the catholick faith, christian law, ‘ and determination of holy church, be sustained, or in any wise suffered.’ To which his successor *Henry V.* added, that as many, as were found to be fautors of the sect called *Lollards*, should be judged as guilty of high-treason.

2 Henry IV.

c. 15. A. D.

1401.

T. de Elmham vit. Hen. V.

N

83.

|| Before this act a bishop could not convict any one for heresy, but he was to be convicted by the archbishop in a provincial synod ; after which conviction the heretick was to be delivered to the sheriff, who by vertue of the king's writ *de heretico comburendo* was to burn him. *Parergon Juris Canonici Anglicani*, page 292, &c.



Treatise of  
faith, part I.  
ch. v.

83. I hope I shall not be blamed for this particular detail of the progress of persecution on account of religion. I thought it necessary not only to shew the unreasonableness of men's thus acting the devil for GOD's sake, but to account for our bishop's defending an usage so absurd and inhuman. Since here we see, how early this infamous practice begun, and by how great human authorities it has been supported. Our bishop thus expresses his opinion of these sanguinary and capital punishments. *The clergy, says he, shall be condemned at the last day, if by cleer witt they drawe not men into consent of trew faith otherwise than by fier and sword or hangement. Although I will not deny these second means to be lawful, provided the former be first used.* In what manner he defended this his opinion I cannot tell; perhaps he was of *Erasmus's* mind, who excuses the civil powers backing the church's sentence with their edicts and arms, that it was necessary for them so to do, to preserve the peace of their kingdoms, and keep all things from running into tumult and confusion, through people's eagerness and perverseness of disputing about their different opinions.

84. To this brutal and profane conceit of compelling men, whether they will or not, to the worship of GOD, and forcing them to think as others will have them, as if truth could be imprinted on men's minds with the points

points of swords, or their understandings be enlightened by making bonfires of their bodies, was owing that savage and romantick custom, introduced by the popes, of mens taking on them the cross, to fight the popes battles, and be knocked on the head to do them service.

This project seems first of all to have been invented for the recovery of the *Holy-Land*, for the use of the pope, out of the hands of the infidels. To this attempt christian princes were invited to leave their kingdoms, and expose their lives, and spend the blood of their subjects and their treasure; and for their encouragement they were to be freed and absolved from all the sins, which they had repented of and confess'd. But in process of time the popes made use of this taking the cross, as it was called, to revenge their own quarrels.

Thus pope *Urban* the sixth, having his title questioned by the *French*, who owned his rival pope *Clement*, sent his bulls to *Henry le Spencer*, bishop of *Norwich*, to empower him to undertake the croisade against the *French*, to avenge him of them; and promised to those who either went with him, or contributed towards the expences of his expedition, the same indulgence, which it had been usual to grant to those, who went to the assistance of the holy land. Of this Dr. *Wic-* Walsingham  
histo. Ang.  
*lif* complained, that the seal or banner of Life of Dr.  
Wiclif, p. 99.  
Christ on the cross, that is a token of peace, mercy and charity, was used to slay

christian men, for love of two false priests, that are open antichrist, to maintain their worldly state, and to oppress *Christendom* worse than Jews, &c. How our bishop defended this governance, does not appear to me.

85. Such were the governances of this church at that time, which our bishop undertook to defend. I observe his lordship does not once mention the exorcisms and benedictions made over the bread and wine, water and oil, salt, wax and incense, the stones of the altar, and walls of the church, over a vestment, a mitre, a cross, and the pilgrims staves. These the *Wicliffits* censured as more like the practices of necromancy, than of true divinity.

86. About the ninth and tenth century appeared several liturgies under the names of some of the apostles; in which there is a strange agreement about the solemn invocation of the holy spirit, to make the gifts, or the bread and wine at the eucharist, the body and blood of Christ. Of this liturgical invocation, its truly observed, that there is not the least hint in the genuine writings of the apostles. To this conceit of a mystic virtue, and secret power being conveyed, by the giving thanks to, or blessing GOD over the outward elements, &c. some countenance had been given before by St. *Cyrill of Jerusalem*, (if those passages are his) who tells us, that simple or pure water having received a virtue, by the invocation

Codi. Apo-  
chry. N. Test.  
pars iii. edit.  
J. Alb. Fabricio.

Catech. iii.  
c. 2.

cation of the holy spirit, of Christ, and of the father, is made partaker of holiness. The same he observes of the eucharistical bread, and of the holy unguent, that after the invocation of the holy spirit, they are no more common bread, or bare unguent; but the one is the body of Christ, and the other charisma, or a divine gift, which effects the presence of the divinity of Christ, and the holy spirit. From hence it came to be fancied, that a real holiness may be imparted to senseless inanimate creatures; and, that the benediction or thanksgiving used rests or is terminated on *them*, and not on GOD; and, that it consisted in the immediate presence of the holy spirit with them, who sanctified and changed them by his sacred contact. In the offices of the *Roman* church we meet with abundance of instances of these benedictions. In the first place, GOD is implored of his pity to vouchsafe to bless and sanctify the creature *salt*, that it may be to all, who use it, the health of their mind and body; and, that whosoever shall be salted, or sprinkled with it, may be free from all uncleanness, and all resistance of spiritual wickedness. Next, GOD is prayed to pour on the element of *water*, prepared by manifold purifications, the virtue of his benediction; that his creature, serving his mysteries, may receive the efficacy of the divine grace, to drive away devils, and remove distempers; that whatsoever in the houses or places of the

Catech. myst.  
iii. c. 3.

Manuale ad  
usum Sarum,  
fol. ii.



Ibid, fol. 5.

faithful shall be sprinkled with this *water*, may be free from all uncleanness, delivered from harm, and that no pestilential breath, or infectious air may continue there, &c. The holy loaf, on the lord's days, GOD is called upon to bless, as he blessed the five loaves in the wilderness, that all who taste of it may have health both of body and soul. The creature *wax* our lord Jesus Christ is prayed to bless, and to pour on it a heavenly blessing, through the virtue of the holy cross, that by the sign of his cross, it may have such a fortitude and benediction, that in whatsoever places it is lighted and set, the devil may depart, and tremble, and fly away pale, with all his ministers, from those habitations, and not presume any more to disturb them. The creatures of *flowers* and *leaves*, the *branches of palms*, and *leaves* of trees, which, they say, they offer in the presence of GOD's glory, he is prayed to let his truth sanctify, that the devout people, who carry them in their hands, may deserve to obtain the grace of his benediction. The like benedictions were used for the meats at *Easter*, butter, cheese, eggs, &c.

Ibid, fol. 63.  
&c.

87. In the *Roman* pontifical there is a solemn form of benediction of the first stone of a church; and GOD is prayed to let his holy spirit descend on this house, which is to be built. In the form of consecrating a church, GOD is desired to send forth his holy spirit on the wine mixed with water, salt and ashes, that

that being armed with the defence of heavenly power, it may be profitable for the consecration of this church and altar. And to name no more of these superstitious dotages and follies, in the consecration of the altar prayers are made, that GOD would command the polished matter of that stone, which was to be imbued or anointed, with the sacrifices offered on it, to be enriched with the abundance of sanctification. To support these prophanations they, in their addresses to GOD, uttered this untruth: 'That he had conferred ' on his priests, above others, such a favour, ' that whatsoever *they* did in his name, worthily and perfectly, should be believed to be ' done by him.'

88. To these consecrations or blessings Dr. *Wiclif* objected, that they were feigned things, and invented to blind or deceive the people; and that, in particular, the hallowing of dead stones, or dead earth, and other ornaments of the church, as vestments, cloths, chalices, oil and cream, which was reserved to the bishops, served only to magnify *their* state in pride. In the little book presented by some of his followers to the parliament, its observed by them, that by such benedictions the creatures are esteemed to be of higher virtue than they are in their own nature; and that yet we do not see any change made in any creature,

Life of Dr.  
Wiclif, p.  
124, 130.

which is thus blessed. Accordingly they added, that if the book of blessing \*holy-water, read in the church, was all true, they should think, that the holy-water, used in holy church, should be a good medicine for all sorts of distempers, and particularly for fores; which yet they knew to be otherwise. However the common people were so persuaded; so that the water† in the font, the holy wafers, and chrism, were all locked up.

I have been the more particular in my account of this book of our bishop's, because it gives us so good a view of the state of the controversy at that time, bewixt the then church of *England* and the *Wiclifists*, who dissented from it. I now proceed to give what further account I can meet with of our bishop.

\* —Elemento huic multimodis purificationibus preparato virtutem tue benedictionis infunde, ut creatura tua misteriis tuis serviens ad abjiciendos demones, morbosque pellendos, divine gratiæ sumat effectum. *Manuale secundum usum Sarum*, fol. 3.a.

† Fons——cum sera claudatur, ne laicis vel aliis ad aquam ejusdem pateat accessus ad aliqua nefaria exercenda, sicut alias ordinatur de eucharistia & chrismate. *Lyndwood's provinciale*, p. 241. edit. 1679.

## C H A P. IV.

*Bishop PECOCK is translated from St. Asaph to Chichester. An account of a book of his entituled, a treatise of faith.*

I. ABOUT this time the duke of York's friends, taking advantage of the popular discontents, which were now growing to a very great height, were for preparing the way for the duke's accession to the throne. Among other steps taken by them for this purpose, one was the removing out of the way those, whom they thought best affected to the king, and most capable of serving him. Accordingly Dr. *Adam Molens*†, bishop of *Chichester*, and lord privy-seal, was by a parcel of rude sailors, hired by them on purpose, murdered at *Portsmouth*, June 9, 1449; who being thus removed, bishop *Pecock* was thought, by the duke of *Suffolk*, to be the most proper person to succeed him. A license to the dean and chapter of *Chichester*, to proceed

† The ninth of January, *Adam Molins*, bishop of *Chichester*, keeper of the kings privy-seal, was by shipmen slain at *Portsmouth*. *Summary of English chronicles*, page 370.



Nicho. V.  
reg. Stafford  
P. 35.

A. D. 1450.

proceed to the election of a bishop, was, we are told, granted Jan. 30, 1449. But whether they did not proceed to an election, or chose another person, and not our bishop, who was recommended to them; bishop *Pecock*, its certain, was by the pope's bulls of provision, translated to this see March 23. Accordingly he made his profession at *Leycester* the last day of this month, and had the temporalities of the bishoprick restored to him the 8th of June following.

2. *Gascoign* || assures us, that, 'he knew ' this promotion of our bishop was owing to ' the duke of *Suffolk*, and the bishop of *Norwich*, tho' before he was very much hated ' by them both.' If this was so, its not improbable, that the reason of it was, our bishop's being so attached to the interest of the duke of *Gloucester*, and so much favoured by him. But however this be, its seems very true, that hitherto every thing went well and succeeded on our bishop's side; tho the latter end was no way answerable to the beginning, as we shall have soon occasion to shew.

3. An universal discontent seems now to have spread itself all over the kingdom, on account of the king's late dishonourable match  
with

|| Ego *Thomas Gascoigne* novi, quod iste *Pecock* provisus tunc in episcopum *Cicestrensem* per media *Willielmi* ducis *Suffolcia*, & *Walteri Hart* episcopi *Norwicensis*. Dictio. Theolog. MS.

—Instantia duorum virorum factus est ibidem episcopus, quamvis antea ab eisdem multum oditus est. *Idem*.

with *Marget*, daughter of the titular king of *Sicily*, and duke of *Lorrain*; and the ill successes in *France*, which accompanied that unhappy marriage. By this contract the king granted, under his great seal to the queen's father, and his heirs, the dukedom of *Anjou*, and the city of *le Mans*, in the county of *le Mans*. To this, we are told, the king was forced by the *French*, who declared, that the earl of *Suffolk*, the king's proxy on this occasion, should not carry the young lady out of the kingdom of *France*, till their friend and ally, the king of *Sicily*, had granted to him, and his heirs, by the king of *England*, the dominions above mentioned. Soon after this all *Normandy* and all *France*, even *Gascoign* and *Burgundy*, withdrew from their obedience to the king of *England*. Thus unhappily were matters carried in *France*, where we lost our reputation before we lost the country. The duke of *Somerſet* very dishonourably surprized a town while the truce continued, and refused to make restitution; and the *French* provoked by this example surprized town after town, 'till they gained all *Normandy*, and within a few years extorted the dutchy of *Gascoign* out of the *English* possession. *Gascoigne* tells us, it was reported, that a herald of arms, belonging to *Charles* king of *France*, swore by GOD and the said king, to a *Somerſetſhire* esquire named *St. Barbe*, that he heard the said king say, that the king of *England*, with  
the

Tho. Gascoigne dictio.  
Theolo. MS.

Gifnes.

Westmonast.  
Nov. 6. 28  
Hen. VI.Hall's Chron.  
the 1 yere of  
K Henry VI.  
fol. 1 a.

the consent of diverse lords of his council, had given and granted to the king and crown of *France* all the lands out of *England*, which the said king of *England* had, or pretended to have, excepting three places, viz. the town of *Calis*, and the castles of *Kamys* and *Kyme*, just by *Calis*. The same person tells us, that the king was said to have granted from himself, and his heirs, almost all the lands and castles belonging to the crown, to certain lords in *England*, and to the servants of his household; insomuch that his majesty could scarce spend out of the lands and tenements remaining to himself, to the value of 400*l.* a year. And that on this the parliament\*, which sat at *Leicester*, A. D. 1450, came to a resolution, that they would never grant any tax to the king, 'till he had first by authority of parliament actually resumed all that pertained to the crown of *England*, which he had alienated from it.

4. A good deal, if not all, of this misconduct was imputed to the late murder of the duke of *Gloucester*, who was generally esteemed by the people, as one who provided for and ordained all things, which either redounded to the honour of the realm, or seemed profitable

\* Prædictum parliamentum indies vexatum laboribus & expensis palam dixit, quod nunquam concederet taxam regi, nisi prius ille auctoritate parliamenti resumeret actualiter omnia pertinentia coronæ *Angliæ*, quæ idem rex alienarat. *Gascoigne Dic.* Theo. MS.

table to the publick wealth of the same; and to their being none at the helm, but such who were unable and unfit to advise in state affairs, all things being managed at the will and pleasure of the queen, and her favourite the duke of *Suffolk*, and the king but a meer cypher, or an engine moved by their hands. The impolitic queen, too much transported with a passionate desire of government, and of being without any restraint, overlooked the ill consequence of laying the foundation of this her absolute rule, in the murder of this honest duke, and excellent patriot; since had *his* life been preserved, the decay or weakening of the house of *Lancaster* was very unlikely to have happened. *His* primogeniture would have kept back and stifled the duke of *York's* pretensions to the crown, this *Richard* duke of *York's* father being but the fifth son of *Edward* the third; whereas *Humphrey Plantagenet*, duke of *Gloucester*, was the fourth, which would have put an end to the former claim. But because he, who was careful in all things that related to the publick good, delivered his mind against the king's match with the queen, which he thought very prejudicial to it; therefore was he given up a sacrifice to the queen's violent resentments, and the hatred of her ambitious favourite, and accordingly he was murdered 1447. This, together with the loss of *Anjou* and *Mayne*, the surrender of which was imputed to the duke of *Suffolk*,



*Suffolk*, so inflamed the commons, that in the parliament, which met *A. D.* 1450, he was accused of being the chief promoter of the duke of *Gloucester's* death, and of traiterously revealing to the *French* king all the secrets of state. Upon which, and many other accusations laid against him by the house of commons, he was committed to the *Tower*; but the parliament was no sooner dissolved, but the queen set him at liberty: Which so much enraged the multitude, who looked upon him as an abhorred toad, and the common nuisance of the realm of *Englaud*, that they made an insurrection, under the leading of a desperate fellow, who called himself *Blue-beard*; but by the diligence of the country gentlemen he and the other leaders were apprehended, before they had attempted any enterprize, or done any mischief.

Hall.

Hall.

5. After this little rage was over, the parliament was adjourned to *Leicester*, whether the king and queen came in great state, attended with the duke of *Suffolk*, as prime minister. But the commons had not forgot their former complaint against the duke, and therefore finding him in as high favour as ever, they renewed their address to the king, that such counsellors, as assented to the surrendery and giving up of *Anjou* and *Mayne*, might be punished with the utmost severity; and in particular accused the duke of *Suffolk*†,

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MS

fol†, the bishop of *Sarum*, and the lord *Say*, as principally concerned in this matter. On which the king, finding that the commons would not be satisfied, sequestered the lord *Say*, who was lord high-treasurer, and the other friends of the duke from their offices and employments, and banished the duke himself for the term of *five* years, hoping that in that time the rage of his enemies would be somewhat appeased, so that he might be safely recalled. But all these designs were not suffered to take effect; for the duke taking ship at *Ipswich* in *Suffolk* to transport himself into *Flanders*, was met the next day by a W. Worcester ship of war, belonging to the duke of *Exeter*, constable of the *Tower* of *London*, called the *Nicholas of the Tower*, and others which lay in wait for him, the captain of which boarding the duke's ship, and finding the duke there, brought him into *Dover-Road*, where May, 2. he caused his head to be cut off by the sailors on the gunnel or side of the long-boat, and left his body with the head on the sands hard by, which was taken up, together with his head, by *Robert* —, and buried in the collegiate church of *Wingfield* in *Suffolk*.

6. The duke was a nobleman of very considerable abilities, and one to whom his prince and

† Tunc in *Anglia* occisi fuerunt per Anglicos dux *Suffolciae* *Willi. Poole*, & *Jacobus* vocatus dominus *Say*, & dominus *Willi. Ayscough* episcopo. *Sarum*, &c. *Gascoigne* Dictio. Theo. MS.

and country were not a little indebted. He had warred in *France* forty four years without intermission, in seventeen of which he never once saw his own country. In 1420, he was made a knight of the most noble order of the garter, and in 1446 a marquis, and two years after advanced to the honour of a duke. But after all, suffering himself to be governed by a prodigious ambition, he was the unhappy adviser of the king's dishonourable match, and a contributor towards the worthy duke of *Gloucester's* murder, and upon these accounts universally hated, as the occasion of all the kingdom's misfortunes, in which it was so terribly involved after that great patriot's death. In the fall of this great man, it is intimated, as if our bishop was not a little concerned, as thereby losing all the interest he once had with the temporal lords, as we shall see hereafter.

A. D. 1448.

7. The duke of *York* had very soon after the duke of *Gloucester's* death, begun to whisper among his friends his right and title to the crown, and was so far suspected of making an attempt to assert and claim it, as to be sent into *Ireland* to be out† of the way. But as  
is

† *Richard*, duke of *York*, was in prison (as the king's deputy) in the realm of *Ireland* continually resiant there. *Hall's Chron.*

Circa festum nativitatis beatæ Mariæ, [Sept. viii. 1460] reversus est dux *Eboraci* de *Hibernia*, & arrivavit apud *Redbank* propre *Cestriam*, et ibidem cum paucis meavit ad castrum de *Ludlowe*. Die vii. *Octobris* inceptum est parliamentum—

Tercio

is observed, though he was there as a prisoner, he had a great influence on the affairs of this kingdom, his friends, kinsmen and allies being so many and very numerous. The duke of *Suffolk* now falling under the displeasure of the parliament, and having been taken and beheaded as he was going into *France*, as has been said before, the duke of *York's* friends thought it a proper time to sound the inclinations of the people towards him. For this purpose they inticed a young man of good parts, and who made a handsome appearance, whose name was *John Cade*, to take upon himself the name of *Mortimer*, as supposing by that stratagem to make the family of the earl of *March*, which was very large, to favour and adhere to him, and to conceal the duke of *York's* having any hand in this sudden rebellion. The better to succeed in this attempt, it was ordered to be first made in *Kent*, the inhabitants of that county having been observed to be very impatient of wrongs, dis-  
 Hall.  
 daining what they thought oppression, and ever desirous of changing. Here *Cade* raised  
 In Whit-  
 Week, W.  
 a good number of men fit for his pur-  
 Worcester  
 annales.  
 pose, calling himself captain *Mendall*, and  
 O them

Tercio die parlamenti dux *Eboraci* cum 500 armatis intra-  
 vit palacium *Westmonasterii*, & sic in camera parlamenti ubi  
 proprio ore suo declaravit se fore hæredem regium coronæ *Ang-*  
*liæ*. Et illo die pauci dominorum sibi favebant, sed solum-  
 modo absentabant. In vigilia omnium sanctorum concordati  
 sunt rex & dux *Eboraci* auctoritate parlamenti. W. *Wyrcester*  
*Annales rerum Anglica.*



them *the publick petitioners for publick justice*, and with them, very well appointed, marched to *Black-beath*||, where he lay encamped about a month, sending for whom and what he pleased. *Gascoigne* tells us, that they plundered several rectors and vicars in *Kent*, whom, I suppose, they knew, or suspected not to be in the duke of *York*'s interest.

Nor were these attempts in favour of the duke of *York* confined to *Kent*, care had been taken by the duke's agents, by popular insinuations to the prejudice of the government, to inflame the minds of the people in other parts of the kingdom, and set them against it. In those dioceses, the bishops of which were either in favour at court, or any ways retainers to it, arts were used to prejudice the people against them and their clergy, who were in the same interest, and continued steady in their duty and loyalty to the king. And, because people are commonly most affected with what relates to their worldly advantage, therefore was it industriously suggested to them, how great losers they were by their bishops not residing on their dioceses, not living among them, nor doing their alms, nor keeping any hospitality with them, but spending all their revenue elsewhere. Thus in the  
diocese

|| Die — *Junii* communitas *Kancia*, cum *Johanne Cade* capitaneo eorum, venerunt usque *Blakbeth*, et ibi fixerunt campum. *W. Wyrcester Annales*.

diocese of *Sarum* Dr. *William Asku*\*, bishop Aiscough of that see, and the king's confessor, was murdered by the mob, who forced him from the altar, where he was celebrating mass on the festival of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and dragged him out of the church, thus insulting and reproaching him; *that fellow was always with the king, and was his confessor, and never lived in his diocese with us, nor kept any hospitality, therefore shall he be killed*; accordingly they never left beating and wounding him till he was dead, when they stript him of his episcopal robes, and left him naked in the open field, and plundered his episcopal palace. Not content with this cruel revenge on the bishop, they likewise, we are told, plundered

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several

\* Dominus *Wilielmus Ayscough*, episcopus *Sarum*, & tunc confessor R. *Henrico VI.* occisus fuit per ipsos suos diocesanos post missam suam, quam celebravit in die sanctorum apostolorum *Petri & Pauli*. Et devote accepit mortem suam, ut dicebatur, et male tractabatur a suis diocesanis propriis, qui eum occidebant, et bona sua multa rapiebant, dicentes, *iste mansit semper cum rege, & fuit ejus confessor, et non mansit in sua diocesi, Sarum nobiscum, nec tenuit hospitalitatem, ideo occidetur*. Et sic verberabant eum, et percutiebant eum, cum instrumentis horribilibus ipsum vulnerantes tyrannice, et occidentes post extractionem ejus extra ecclesiam, et ipsum nudum jacere in campo fecerunt. *Gascoigne Dictio. Theolo. MS.*

The 29th of *June*, *William Ascoth*, bishop of *Salisbury*, after he had said mass at *Edington*, was by his own tenants drawn from the altar in his albe, with his stole about his neck, to the top of an hill, and there by them shamefully murdered. And the day before his chariot was robbed to the value of ten thousand marks. *Stow's Summary of English chronicles, p. 371.*

xxx die [Junii] *Wyllelmus Ascough*, tunc episcopus *Sarum*, apud *Edyngtone, Wiltesire*, ab insurrectoribus ejusdem comitatus interimitur. *W. Wyrcester Annales rerum Anglica.*

several rectors and vicars in the same diocese near *Salisbury*, and about *Hungerford*. *William Boothe*, bishop of *Coventry*, and chancellor to the queen, and Dr. *Walter Lyherd*, or *le Hart*, the queen's confessor, were both, we are told, pursued by the rabble on their flying to avoid their fury.

8. *Gascoigne*†, in his zeal against our bishop, tells us, that *he* was the cause of the several mobs, who committed these cruelties, and did so much mischief, and reckons them as a judgment of GOD, occasioned by his and other bishops, promoted by the king, preaching that *bishops are not obliged to preach themselves*. The same is very confidently affirmed by a late ecclesiastical historian, who is pleased to assure us, that, ‘ for about two years after our bishop's maintaining the *seven* propositions abovementioned, he declaimed against the bishops in the pulpit in very warm intemperate expressions, railed on them for their titles and revenues, for appearing with

Collier's Ec-  
cle. Hist. vol.  
I. p. 675, col.  
1.

‘ a

† *Causa fuit Reginaldus Pecock, quod plurimi in populo surrexerunt et occiderunt episcopum Cicestrensem Adam Molens, et episcopum Sarum Will. Askw; et persecuti sunt episcopum Cestrie Buthe nomine, et episcopum Norwicenssem Walterum Lyart; et rectores et vicarios diversos in Cantia, et juxta Sarum, et circa Hungerford spoliaverunt. Et eodem anno intravit dux Eboraci in Angliam ab Hibernia, in qua tunc fuerat contra voluntatem suam, ex mandato regis Angliæ, Henrici VI. Et revera ex quo prædictus episcopus Reginaldus Pecock, et alii episcopi per regem intrantes, dixerint, quod episcopi non tenentur prædicare per se ipsos vocaliter, Deus omnipotens prædicavit in Anglia realiter, puniendo realiter, et puniri permittendo episcopos, &c. in Anglia. Diæio. Theo. MS.*

'a splendid equipage; and notwithstanding  
 'he had lately discharged them from the ex-  
 'ercises of the pulpit, he now reproaches them  
 'for their omissions of this kind; is so hardy  
 'as to affirm, that 'twas either their ignorance,  
 'or their luxury, that occasioned this negli-  
 'gence; and, that if they would do any good  
 'in preaching, they must declaim against their  
 'own practice, and recommend those good  
 'qualities they had not the honesty to be mas-  
 'ters of. This satyr upon the hierarchy, the  
 'historian tells us, proved popular, inflamed  
 'the mob to a tumult, and carried them to  
 'such a pitch of distraction, that they mur-  
 'dered *Molens* and *Asku*, bishops of *Chichester*  
 'and *Salisbury*, and pulled down their palaces.  
 'They likewise drove the bishops of *Litch-*  
 '*field* and *Norwich* from their sees, and pur-  
 'sued them through the country; plundered  
 'and killed several advocates, and judges be-  
 'longing to the spiritual courts; and harrassed  
 'the inferior clergy in *Kent* and *Wiltshire* at a  
 'barbarous rate.' To such lengths will men  
 go, who are slaves to their own prejudices,  
 and write history for no other end than to  
 captivate men's affections, and serve a cause.

Jurisperiti ac  
 episcoporum  
 officarii.

9. *Gascoigne*, its plain, imputed these cala-  
 mities of the publick to our bishop, and others  
 promoted by the king, out of prejudice to the  
 court, and to our bishop in particular, whom  
 he reckoned an heretick. As to the other ac-  
 count, the author of it was so blinded with



Wood histo.  
et anti. Oxon.  
pars I. p. 222.  
col. 1.

zeal against our bishop, as not to read even his own voucher right ; who is so far from saying, that the bishop declaimed against his colleagues in the pulpit, and made a satire upon the hierarchy ; that he only tells us, that his sermons in defence of the prelates of that time were so far from satisfying the people, that they† highly provoked them ; and that accordingly they frequently railed against them in the open streets, in such expressions as are above mentioned.

10. Among the grievances now rehearsed, in order to increase the popular discontents, (as it is the point of those, whose business it is to court the favour of the people for unwarrantable ends, to steal upon their blind side, and apply to their affections and vicious inclinations) it was industriously given out, that the great men at court were so far from being well affected to the clergy, as to wish there was not one preacher of the word in *England* ; that since the king's reign there were none prefer'd in the church, but ignorant and wicked men ; that appropriations, pluralities, and non-residencies were very much multiplied and increased ; and that our universities were so much corrupted, as to grant graces to, and confer degrees on the most unworthy and vicious men.

Gascoigne  
Dictio Theo.  
MS.

† *Pecockii conciones tum alibi passim, tum Londini præsertim, habitæ tantam episcopis invidiam cumularant, ut eosdem his frequenter verbis proscinderent ; væ episcopis qui ditantur, qui volunt vocari domini, et ut eis serviatur genibus flexis, &c.*

men. If these things were generally believed by the people, and they were by them prejudiced and disaffected to the bishops and clergy of that time, its not to be wondered at, if our bishop's attempts to vindicate them were not well taken, and did not please the populace. Since by his lordship's being an advocate for them, he might be thought to approve these abuses, and be a patron of the grievances, of which so much complaint had been made. But this is very different from the bishop's being the real cause of these tumults, by his intending to stir up the people, and set them against the government both in church and state.

II. About this time our bishop, who still continued his studies and labours to reduce the dissenting *Lollards* to the communion of the established church, published a book in *English*, which his lordship called *A Treatise of faith*. It is a dialogue betwixt a father and his son, divided into *two* books; whereof the *first* professeth to treat of the most probable means of gaining over the *Lollards* to the church, which he assigns to be an intire submission of their judgment to the decrees of the church, or clergy, although supposed fallible; or, as his lordship expresses himself, *a following the determinations and the holdings of the church in mater of feith*, unless we can demonstrate their determinations to be wrong or mistaken, or can evidently and plainly without any doubt shew, that the church hath determined

that article untruly, and hath no sufficient ground for so to determine. This first book is chiefly taken up with a long digression, shewing that faith in this life is only *probable*, or *opinional*, not *sciential*, which, the bishop says, *is had in the blisse of heaven*; or that the truth of the christian religion cannot be proved by *demonstrative*, but only by *probable* arguments. This dispute his lordship manages in a scholastic way, full of niceties and subtilties of philosophy and school-divinity, which makes it very obscure. In the beginning of it his lordship observes, how fruitlessly many have endeavoured to reduce the *Lollards* by this principle, that *the clergie, or the churche of the clergie may not erre in matere of faith*. Of any further attempt of compassing the thing in that method he utterly disapproves, for which he gives the following reasons. That this principle has too much the appearance of improbability to be taken for granted: That many lay-men of strong parts and high reputation will never tamely submit to any such principle: That a colourable opposition may be made against it from the writings of many celebrated doctors||: Lastly, that this pre-

|| *Gerson* distinguished betwixt the universal church and the church which is called apostolical, which is a particular church, and comprehended in the church universal, *viz.* the pope, cardinals, archbishops, prelates, ecclesiasticks, which according to custom was called the church of *Rome*. The universal church, he said, according to tradition could not err, nor fail, neither

presupposing the infallibility of the church, or of the clergy, appears exceeding partial on the clergy's side, and sets the laity against them, as being bias'd and not indifferent judges in their own cause. And, *therefore*, says the bishop, *to allege the seid meene into eeris of the seid laymen is not expedient into her conversion.* After these preliminaries the bishop proceeds to open his own purpose and design in these words. *Wberfore y unworthiest and yongist and lougist of prelatiſ—entende and purpos in this present book for to mete agens ſuche unobediencers another way and in another maner, and bi meene which the lay-perſoonys wole admit and graunte; which meene is this:* That we owen to bileeve and ſtand to ſum ought ſeier or techer, which may faile, while it is not known, that thilk ſeyer or techer therynne fallith. The *ſecond* part of this treatiſe treateth of the rule of faith. In it the biſhop ſhews, that holy writ is the chief and principal ground of all the faith, which is contained in it, or the only rule or ſtandard of revealed and ſupernatural truths.

12. The authority of the church, or clergy, and infallibility of their determinations, had of late (ſince Dr. *Wiclif*'s translating the holy ſcripture into *Engliſh*, and contending, that *Chriſt's law ſufficeth by itſelf to rule Chriſt's*

neither deceive nor be deceived; but as for the other it might err and fail, deceive and be deceived. See Mr. *Wharton's* preface to the biſhop's *treatiſe of faith*, printed 1688.



Gal. i. 8.

Wharton pref.  
P. 35.

Session xxi.

Christ's church) been carried very high, and looked upon as the most successful engine against the prevailing growth of condemned heresy; insomuch that our bishop assures us, in the first part of this treatise of his, that some divines argued from those words of St. Paul, *if we, or an angel from heaven should teach any other doctrine, than that which ye have received, let him be anathema*, that if it should happen, that the church militant and the church triumphant disagreed in an article of faith, the determination\* of the church militant was rather to be followed. Nay, his lordship shews in the second part of this treatise, that it was maintained, that ' holy scripture is not, nor was not the ground of faith ' to any persons believing; but that the clergy of holy church is worthier, mightier, ' and of greater authority, than is scripture, ' or at least, of even worthiness, power, might, ' and authority, with holy scripture of the ' new Testament.' But such crude positions as these, though they might raise the wonder and admiration of fools, deserved the contempt and indignation of wiser men. Our bishop therefore

\* Of this opinion the council of *Constance* seems to have been, which sat but a little before our bishop's time, viz. 1416. in which was this remarkable decree passed: " That altho' Christ had instituted the sacrament of the eucharist to be received in both kinds, and the primitive church retained the same manner of administering it; yet notwithstanding the custom of the church, according to which it was to be received by the laity under the species of bread only, was to be observed."

therefore set himself to refute them in this part of his treatise, and to shew, that 'holy writ is such a ground and foundement of 'oure cristen general faith, that noon gretter 'or bettir or surer to us ground or foundement is for our cristen general faith written 'in holi writ.'

than

13. At this time great were the follies, and very gross the superstitions, which had crept by degrees into religion, and at last so much prevailed as quite to supplant it, and establish themselves in its room; and what added to the mischief, was christians being grown so very insensible of their danger, as on the brink of death to fancy themselves alive and well, and therefore instead of seeking for a cure, to detest all remedies, and do all they could to continue and propagate the distemper. For this purpose was even the service or common-prayers of the church corrupted, by placing in the breviary uncertain stories, and legends of the saints†. Stories, if we may believe a cardinal of the *Roman* church, and our own eyes, that 'were written with so little care or 'choice, that they had neither authority nor 'gravity.' In the same manner was their preaching so far corrupted and abused, that all the greater and more necessary articles of faith, and

Wharton pref. p. 36.

† *Historiæ sanctorum quædam tam incultæ et tam sine delectu scriptæ habentur in eodem, ut nec auctoritatem habere videantur nec gravitatem. Quignoniæ breviarium Romanum recogni. Paris. 1548.*

and all genuine and rational knowledge of christianity had generally given place to fabulous legends, and romantick stories; fables which in this respect only differed from those of the ancient heathen poets, that they were more incredible and less elegant. The preachers of those times, as has been observed before, were for the most part the monks and friars, who never scrupled lying for the honour of their saints and patrons; for which at length they were become so famous, that it was a proverb, among the better sort however,

**This man is a frier.  
Therefore he is a liar.**

With these fables and romances they constantly stuffed their sermons, which by the credulous multitude were therefore the more admired, since they were now ignorant enough to believe any lye. Our bishop too well saw the mischievous consequences of these false harangues, not to shew his dislike of them. He therefore arraigned them of error, heresy and superstition, and did all he could to expose their folly, stiling the preachers themselves,

clamitatores in  
pulpitis.

**pulpit-bawlers.**

14. Our bishop's thus mincing the authority of the clergy, by granting, though only for argument sake, the fallibility of their determinations; his candour and moderation towards the poor dissenting *Lollards*, in treating them with so much gentleness and goodness,

as patiently to hear their objections and scruples, without either insulting or abusing them; his regard to the laity in affording them the means of better knowledge†, by writing in *English*, a language which they understood; and the contempt and dislike which he shewed of the pious fraud of legends; soon drew upon his lordship the envy and hatred of all those, who were engaged both by zeal and interest in the continuance of these evils and corruptions. Several of the doctors therefore of the two universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, especially of the latter, which at this time was very remarkable|| for supposed orthodoxy, opposed our bishop in their sermons, lectures, and determinations. The following persons are particular named. 1. *Gilbert Worthington*. Histo. et Antiq. Oxon.

2.

† The people were so termed from the A. S. *lapebe ignorant*, as much as to say the ignorant ones. Hence our bishop *Bilson*, "I call no man Laie in contempt or derogation either of his gifts, or of that state in which I know the church of GOD hath always had, and hath many grave and worthy men, fit for their wisdom and gravity to bear as great or greater charge then clergymen." *Perpetual Government* &c. p. 144.

|| The preamble of K. *Henry VI.* patent for the erection of *King's college* there, which his father designed to have built at *Oxford*, intimates as much. — "Ad errorum et heresum extirpationem, qui quasi totum resperguntur in orbem, & solennium regnorum ac universitatum pacem perturbant, regnumque nostrum *Anglie* in aliquibus ejus suppositis violarunt. Quorum ab inventionibus universitas nostra predicta immaculatam se continue observavit." E. Collect. D. *Thos. Baker*, Coll. S. *Jobannis Cantab.*



2. *William Litterfield*. 3. *Peter Beverly\**, alias *Hyrford*, of the diocese of *Lincoln*. 4. *William Myllyngton*, a *Yorkshire* man, master of *Clare-Hall* and provost of *King's-College* in *Cambridge*, who in a sermon he preached at *St. Paul's*, the next course after our bishop, is said to have openly declared, that the kingdom of *England* would never suffer those, who patronized or favoured our bishop, to prosper. 5. *Dr. Hugh Damlet*, master of *Pembroke-Hall*, who is said to have pretended to prove our bishop guilty of heresy out of his own writings. These were all *Cambridge* doctors. 6. *Thomas Eborall* or *Eyburhall*, who succeeded the bishop in the mastership of *Whittington-College*, &c. 7. *John Burbach*. 8. † *John Bury*, an *Augustine* heremite monk, and ‡ *John Milverton*, all *Oxford* men. Besides the doctors of the friars mendicant, who, it, seems, could not relish the bishop's finding fault with their preaching, and instead of it recommending the preaching the sacred truths of holy scripture;

\* This man abjured *Dr. Wiclif's* opinions, or those which were condemned as his, in plena congregatione—coram reverendo viro magistro *Eudone de la Zouche* L. L. D. ejusdem universitatis cancellario, necnon coram venerabili cetu magistrorum regentium et non regentium—Feb. 22. A. D. 1412. *Idem*. So that he must be pretty old, when he opposed our bishop.

† See before.

‡ This man, *Leland* tells us, preached frequently at *London*, and particularly at *St. Paul's*, against the intolerable ambition and avarice of the bishops. *De Scriptor. Britan.* p. 465.

scripture; and several students of the university of *Oxford*.

15. Whether the bishop ever wrote any reply to these his opposers, is very uncertain. In the imperfect account, which we have of his lordship's writings, there is nothing which has the appearance of any defence of himself, and the positions maintained by him; unless the tracts entituled, *The Defender*, *The follower of it*, *The Declaratory*, and his letter to *William Godharde*, the *Franciscan* or begging friar, were of this nature. However, it was not long before a more effectual course was taken to stop the mouth, and silence the arguments of our bishop.

16. It has been observed before, that the duke of *York*, taking advantage of the death of the duke of *Gloucester*, and the general discontent and uneasiness on that account, and of the losses abroad and mismanagements at home, began secretly to engage his friends of the nobility, and gentry, &c. and to declare to them his title and pretensions to the crown. This he now began to prosecute more effectually, by coming out of *Ireland*, and with the help of his friends raising a great army in the marches of *Wales*; tho' still, to conceal his true design, the intent of all this armament was given out to be the publick wealth of the realm, and great profit of the commons, by redressing and reforming the publick grie-

grievances||, and removing the evil and disaffected counsellors, that were said to be about the king.

17. Amidst these domestick divisions and civil commotions, *Gascoigne* tells us, that our bishop was about the feast of *St. Martins*, A. D. 1457, by the king's command, expelled the house of lords at *London*, and forbid the king's presence by the archbishop of *Canterbury*; and that so much were all the temporal lords set against our bishop, (for elsewhere he observes that the bishops favoured him) that they refused to enter on any business, so long as his lordship continued in the house. Which disgrace of the bishop, he says, was imputed to his having lost his principal support, the duke of *Suffolk*, and his two powerful friends at court, the bishops *Mullins* and *Ayscough*. In this great council, which *Gascoigne*\* intimates was summoned by the king on our bishop's account, several great doctors of divinity being there present, demanded of the archbishop of *Canterbury* bishop *Pecock's* works, that they might have them to examine, and that accordingly the archbishop permitted them to have them. This demand was opposed

|| A. D. 1452. in quadragesima surrexit *Richardus* dux *Eboraci* pro reformatione regni *Anglie*, ut dixit idem dux. *Gascoigne* Distio. Theolo. MS.

\* Ille *Pecock* episcopus A. D. 1457 in sabbato infra octavas sanctissimi *Martini* episcopi et confessoris citatus & monitus per archiepiscopum *Cantuariensem*, *Thomam Bourcher*. Distio. Theo. MS.

posed by the bishop, who desired and petition'd, that he might not be judged by their judgment, but by the judgment of his peers, or such as were equal to *him* in scholastic disputation. The bishop likewise told the archbishop, that he would bring before him all his books which he had made three years before that day, and for those books would be answerable; but as for the other books, which before that time had been published and dispersed, he could not answer for *them*, because those books were not corrected by him. Accordingly afterwards *nine* of our bishop's books were brought before the archbishop, which were found to be cancelled and rased in several places, and written anew by the bishop. After the producing of these before his grace, &c. the bishop, we are told, went out of the king's council-chamber at *Westminster*.

18. The reasons why the lords temporal were so much set against our bishop, we are told by the same writer, were, 1. That he wrote such profound matters in *English*, as were more likely to hurt the readers and hearers of them, than to do them good; for instance, that the law of nature is to be preferred above the written law, and even the sacred one; that a man is to adhere to his own reason; that the soul of *Christ* did not descend into hell; and that the apostles did not make our common creed, &c. 2. That the

P
bishop



A. D. 1456. bishop had written a letter to Sir *Thomas Canynghes*, the mayor of *London*, which letter the mayor sent to the king, before whom and his lords it was read, and in it were found evidences, or conjectures, or probable perswasions, or suspicions of the changing or disturbance of the faith or religion, and of an insurrection in the kingdom, to the great disturbance of the people, and the scandal of the great lords of the kingdom, whom he represented in his letter as adhering to him and his *English* books. 3. That he had made a new and tedious creed of his own in *English*, and had changed our common creed, which the apostles of our lord *Jesus Christ* had set forth, having denied several articles of it, both by word of mouth, and by his writings.

*Gascoigne*  
*Dictio. Theo.*  
 MS.

19. The great doctors likewise were of opinion, that the books published by the bishop, written in *English* and *Latin*, deserved to be kept from the reading and hearing of all men, for these following reasons. 1. That in this book of *Faith* he asserted and wrote, that this saying of *St. Gregory*, *Faith hath no merit which is proved by human reason*, is false; and that *St. Gregory* contradicts himself. 2. That in the same book he says, that the subtle doctor was deceived in saying, that *Christ's* descent into hell is an article of faith, because it is placed in the creed; and that in *St. Augustine's* time this article was not in the creed, and therefore 'tis not true, that the apostles  
 put

put it there. 3. That in a letter of the bishop's directed to ——— *Godard*, a doctor of the order of the friars *Minorites* or *Franciscans*, he called the modern preachers *pulpit-bawlers*. 4. That his lordship preached at *London* at *Paul's Cross*, that bishops paying to the pope of *Rome*, before their admission by the pope to be bishops, 5000 marks or a greater sum, don't sin on this account, nor do give any thing to the pope by this payment, but only tender to him what is his own; as a bailiff does, when he accounts with his lord. 5. That he wrote, that no one is obliged to believe the determination of holy church, but that there is a catholick church. 6. That he affirmed, that the goods of churchmen, and the riches of bishops, are not the goods of the poor; but are as much their property, as are the temporal estates of those who have them by inheritance. Such, it seems, were the bishop's crimes, that so highly exasperated the king and his lords, and so many of the inferior clergy, and set them so much against him, as never to leave off prosecuting his lordship, 'till they had got him deprived of his bishoprick.

20. But whatever provocation these opinions of the bishop might give the clergy thus to treat his lordship, it seems as if the king and his nobles were offended with him on another account, viz. his speaking so freely of the king and the war with *France*, as he had done in his *Repressour*, &c. a book published by his

lordship about *seven* years before. Here the bishop observed, that this war had then been continued 34 years, and had occasioned much murder of blood and of souls on both the *Eng-lish* and *French* side; on which occasion his lordship thus expressed himself: 'Wolde  
' GOD, that the king of *Ynglond* wolde sette  
' so myche bysynes for to conquere and re-  
' forme his londe of *Ynglond* from this seid  
' wickid scole, [*the Wiclifists*] and fro othere  
' defaultis, as miche as he dooth about the con-  
' quest of his londe of *Normandi* and of  
' *Fraunce*; and peradventure he schulde then  
' have mo thanke and rewarde at his last co-  
' myng hoom to the king of blisse, and more  
' noble flavour of digne fame among alle the  
' princis of the world, and the worthi peeris  
' of heven, than he schal have bi miche of his  
' labour and cost doon about the worldli con-  
' quest of *Fraunce*.' It is not improbable  
that the bishop's enemies, who were glad of  
any opportunity of doing him an injury, might  
take advantage of these expressions of his, and  
represent his lordship as intending by them to  
reflect on the king and his council, as not well  
affected to the church, no wise zealous for  
its rights and privileges, and much more  
mindful of this world than of that which is to  
come.

*Aza Johan.*  
Whetham-  
stede, &c.  
MS.

21. However this be, we are told, that  
' our bishop's opinions, which he had propaga-  
' ted among the common people, by publish-  
' ing

'ing them in *English*, coming to the ears of  
 'those men, who were the more valiant cham-  
 'pions of the faith, and bolder soldiers of the  
 'ecclesiastical court, they resolved to nip this  
 'plague in the bud, and provide themselves  
 'of such a remedy, as might effectually stop  
 'the mouth of him who uttered such per-  
 'verse things, and cut off *his* hand, who wrote  
 'things not only to be suspected but which  
 'deserved to be burnt. That going therefore  
 'to the archbishop, the solid hinge and stout  
 'pillar of the church of *England*, they be-  
 'sought him, that for the preservation of  
 'the ship of faith, now in danger of being  
 'sunk, his grace would cause the bishop to  
 'be cited, and appoint him the day, hour,  
 'and place to appear before him, to answer  
 'those things, which should be objected to  
 'him in a cause of faith.'

22. The archbishop, to satisfy the impor-  
 tunity of these doctors, &c. ordered the bishop  
 to be cited to appear before him, and to bring  
 with him the books which he had written and  
 published, against which exceptions had been  
 taken, that so they might be examined, ac-  
 cording to a decree made and promulged  
 some time before. This *decree* was a consti-  
 tution of archbishop *Arundel's* made A. D.  
 1408, by which it was ordained, that no lit-  
 tle book or tract compiled by *John Wiclif*, or  
 any one else in his time or since, or to be  
 compiled hereafter, shall henceforth be read

*Lyndwood*  
 provin. p. 285.



in the schools, halls or inns, or in any other places whatsoever, within the province of *Canterbury*, &c. unless by the university of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, or at least by twelve persons of each university chosen for the purpose, it be first examined, and being unanimously examined by the two universities, be afterward expressly approved by the archbishop, &c. and in the name and by the authority of the university delivered to the *stationers*\* to be copied, and a faithful collation being made of it, it be sold or given to those, who desire to have it; the original forever remaining in some chest of the university. Whoever acted otherwise, was to be punished as a fower of schism and fautor of heresy, as the quality of the fault required. The same archbishop ordained, that nobody hereafter should by his own authority translate any text of holy scripture into *English*, by way of a book, little book, or tract; and that he, who acted otherwise, should be punished as a fautor of heresy and error. This our canonist *Lyndwood* understood, to mean the applying the text of holy scripture, and translating it into *English*, in the compiling any treatise of the sayings of the doctors, or their own. Now our bishop's books being many of them written in *English*, and his lordship having applied the text of holy scripture to the several subjects

\* This was the way of publishing books before the invention of printing, or the introduction of it into *England*.

jects which he treated, translating it into *English*, an advantage was given to his adversaries against him by these constitutions. For tho' *Lyndwood* understands by the words *own authority*, a man's private judgment, and intimates, that it is otherwise, when any text of holy scripture is so applied and translated into *English* by the authority of the bishop, according to which interpretation our bishop might possibly think himself secure, as being invested with that character; yet still his lordship had not complied with the directions of the constitution, which ordained that no books should be published, 'till after they had been examined by twenty four doctors of both the universities, &c.

23. This citation of our bishop to appear before the archbishop, and produce the books he had written, in order to their being examined as abovesaid, soon made a great noise; and it was presently published in the pulpits, by such of the clergy as were prejudiced against the bishop, at *Paul's* cross and elsewhere, that his lordship had written in the said books certain conclusions contrary to the orthodox faith, and did pertinaciously hold and defend them. Of this the bishop seems to have complained to the archbishop as very injurious to his state and good fame, and an immense grievance of himself and his opinions. The archbishop therefore issued forth his mandate, dated at his manor of *Lambeth*, *October 22, 1457*, and

Novem. 11.

directed it, ' to all and singular parsons, vi-  
 ' cars, chaplains, curates and not curates,  
 ' clerks, and learned men whomsoever,  
 ' throughout the province of *Canterbury*,  
 ' commanding and enjoyning them publickly  
 ' and generally to admonish all and singular,  
 ' who would oppose any thing against the  
 ' conclusions of the said bishop, had or contain-  
 ' ed in his books or writings, freely to ap-  
 ' pear before the archbishop, or his commis-  
 ' saries, on the 20th day after this monition  
 ' made to them by *them*, wheresoever the  
 ' archbishop, &c. should then be, in the city,  
 ' diocese or province of *Canterbury*, sufficient-  
 ' ly and fully to propose and alledge in wri-  
 ' ting, whatever heretical or erroneous things  
 ' they have to say or propose against the con-  
 ' clusions of this kind in the books aforesaid :  
 ' Withal commanding them by his authority  
 ' to inhibit all and singular those, who so  
 ' preach as aforesaid, that they do not pre-  
 ' sume in any manner out of court to assert,  
 ' judge, or preach any thing to the prejudice  
 ' or scandal of the aforesaid lord bishop *Rey-*  
 ' *nold*, whilst this affair of the examination  
 ' and discussion of his books and conclusions  
 ' before him, or his commissaries, was depen-  
 ' ding and unfinished.' This was not only  
 an act of justice to the bishop, but what was  
 necessary to preserve the power and authority  
 of the archbishop's court ; since if the credit  
 and reputation of men must fall or be con-  
 demned

demned by the malice and prejudice of private persons, without there having any opportunity to answer their accusers and defend themselves, as the most innocent cannot possibly be safe, so it must make the judgments of courts or legal sentences of little weight or authority, when private persons thus presume to take the cause out of their superiors hands, and prejudge for them.

24. The time appointed by this mandate appears to be near the same, with that mentioned by *Gascoigne*, as the time of our bishop's appearance in the king's council-house at *Westminster*, viz. *November 11*; which time likewise is intimated by the attestation of the notary at the end of the copy of the bishop's book called the *Repreffour*, &c. tho' by that entry its affirmed, that the archbishop was in his chapel at *Lambith*, and consequently that our bishop was there to answer to the citation made of him. But indeed *Gascoigne* does not say, that the bishop appeared in the king's council chamber on *St. Martin's* day, but that *about* that feast his lordship was expelled from thence. And elsewhere he tells us, that the bishop was cited and admonished by the archbishop the *Saturday* before the octaves of *St. Martin*, &c. But whether the bishop was expelled the council before or after his appearance before the archbishop, its certain, that on the day mentioned before, his lordship exhibited

MS. in biblio.  
Cantab.

Circa festum  
S. Martini e-  
piscopi, Nov.  
11.

to



to the archbishop in his chapel at *Lambeth* his books to be examined by the 24 doctors above mentioned, who were to report to his grace and his assessors or auditors the result of their examination, viz. *William Waynflete* bishop of *Winchester*, *John Chedworth* bishop of *Lincolne*, and *John Lowe* bishop of *Rocheſter*. Accordingly our bishop's books were by these doctors declared to abound with errors and heretical pravity, which sentence of theirs they undertook to prove before the king and his nobles. If this offer of theirs was accepted by the archbishop, its not improbable, that this was the occasion of the bishop's being with the lords temporal in the king's council chamber, as has been said before. But however this be, the bishop, we are told, excepted to this sentence of the doctors, as being passed by persons utterly unqualified to judge of such matters. But this exception of his lordship's was over-ruled by the archbishop.

25. It is observed, that at this time † whatever differed from the tenets of the schools, was by the school divines reckoned heretical, and that this, tho' the most grievous crime in itself, was made so common, as that it was charged on the smallest matters: That heresy was at first the same with renouncing

Bishop *Stillington*  
fleet of the ec-  
clesiaſt. juris-  
diction, c. 2.

† Nunc quæcunque ab ſcholæ placitis diffident, ſcholæſtico theologo ſunt hæretica; quod crimen ita vulgatum eſt ut rebus quoque leviffimis impingatur, quum ſit ipſum per ſe atrociffimum. *Ludovici Vivis de diſciplina, Lib. I.*

nouncing baptism, or turning *Jew* or *Turk*, or using sorcery; but that now the ordinaries enlarged the notion of heresy, extending it to the denial of whatsoever the church or clergy thought fit to determine, and took upon themselves to be sole judges in it: That accordingly the subjects of this realm were by the ordinaries, by suspicion conceived of their own fancy without due accusation or presentment, put in the infamy and slander of heresy; and that 'the act for the punishment of heresy, 2 *Hen. IV. c. 15.* was conceived in such general and doubtful expressions, that scarcely the most expert and best learned man of the realm, diligently lying in wait upon himself, could avoid the penalties and dangers of the same act, and canonical sanctions, if he should be examined upon such *captious interrogatories*, as had been accustomed to be ministred by the ordinaries, in cases where they would suspect any person of heresy.' The like reflection has been made on archbishop *Arundel's* constitution in particular, by which our bishop was condemned, *viz.* 'that it was a net made for the catching, or letting go, whomsoever or whatsoever the ordinaries pleased.' By this we may see what care the rulers of the church of *Rome* took, that their authority should not be in the least disputed.

26. Our bishop however did not tamely, and without any defence of himself, submit to

*Gascoigne* Dic.  
Theo. MS.

to this sentence and declaration of the doctors; tho' what his lordship's defence was, we have at present no account. Only it is intimated to us, that it gave so little satisfaction to many of the standers by, that they treated him very roughly for it; particularly *George Nevill*†, then bishop elect of *Exeter*, we are told, with marks of indignation (as commonly where is the least knowledge there's the most zeal) corrected the bishop in the following manner: 'GOD, says he, wills you to suffer these great reproaches, because you have very unworthily found fault with and denied the words of St. *Jerome* and St. *Austin*, and the opinions of the doctor and holy pope *Gregory* to be true, as likewise the works of the other saints.' To which insult our bishop is said to have made this mean reply: 'I repent, that I have so written, for I was not sufficiently knowing in these matters.' An answer by no means consistent with the exceptions made by his lordship to the capacity of his examiners, and the defence he made of his writings.

27.

† He was brother to the earl of *Salisbury*, and promoted to the see of *Exeter* by papal provision, A. D. 1456, when he was not above 23 years old, on condition he should not be consecrated, till he was 27. But notwithstanding, as appears by the register of the church of *Canterbury*, *licentiam obtinet consecrationis extra ecclesiam Cant. penult. Novem. 1458*, two years before that time. A fit person to chastise and insult our ancient and learned bishop.

27. A good deal of time having been spent in the examination of the bishop's opinions, touching *Christ's* descent into hell, the authority of the universal church, the power of councils, the sense and understanding of the holy scriptures, and other various things, and in the bishop's answers, and the replications made to them; the archbishop is said at last to have spoken to the bishop to this effect:

' Dear brother, master *Reynold*, since as all  
' hereticks are so blind in the light of their un-  
' derstanding, that altho' they know they  
' may conclude better, yet are wont, having  
' once concluded, obstinately to contradict and  
' oppose those, who would reclaim them; we  
' will not contend much nor earnestly with  
' you, because we know you abound more in  
' talk than in reasoning. We will however  
' shew you briefly, and declare to you in short,  
' how in the foresaid articles you presume  
' plainly to go against the sayings of the more  
' authentick doctors. For as to the article of  
' *Christ's* descent into hell, the *Tarentum*|| doc-  
' tor says, in a certain question of his concern-  
' ing the three creeds, that the said article was  
' left out of the *Nicene* creed, and that of the  
' holy man *Athanasius*; because in those times  
' no heresy was risen against it, nor was it usual  
to

|| Doctor *Tarentinus*, who he was I am not sure. *John*, archbishop of *Tarentum*, flourished 1432, and was in the council of *Basil* and *Ferrara*, on which occasion perhaps he might discourse on the question concerning the three creeds. *Cave* hist. liter. app. p. 108.



' to make any great question of it. As to the  
 ' article of *the authority of the universal church*,  
 ' the doctor *Augustine* says, in his epistle *contra*  
 ' *fundamentum*, that so great is its authority,  
 ' that he should by no means believe the holy  
 ' gospel of *Christ*, unless it was approved by  
 ' the authority of the church. As to *the power*  
 ' *of councils*, the doctor *Gregory* says, (and  
 ' his saying is decreed in the canon *distinct. 15.*)  
 ' as those four sacred councils, *viz.* the *Ni-*  
 ' *cene, Constantinopolitane, Ephesine, and Cal-*  
 ' *cedonian*, are not of less honour or reverence  
 ' than the books of the holy gospel, he would  
 ' have them embraced and kept with no less  
 ' devotion, or inferior approbation; because,  
 ' as he asserts, on *them*, as on a squared or cor-  
 ' ner stone, the structure of holy faith is erec-  
 ' ted, and all the rule of life and good conver-  
 ' sation depends. The rest of the doctors do  
 ' also all of them unanimously say, that tho'  
 ' the sacred councils may err in matters of fact,  
 ' they cannot yet be mistaken in matters of  
 ' faith; because in every general council, where  
 ' two or three are gathered together in the  
 ' name of *Christ*, there forthwith is that good  
 ' spirit present among them, who does not  
 ' suffer them to err from the faith, or stray  
 ' from the way of truth. As to *the sense and*  
 ' *understanding of the holy scripture*, the doc-  
 ' ter *Jerome* says, that whosoever understands,  
 ' expounds, or clears it otherwise, than the  
 ' sense of the holy spirit requires, by whose  
 finger

‘ finger it was written, it is plain, that he is  
 ‘ to be taken for an heretick. The *Lincoln* Bp. *Grosbead.*  
 ‘ doctor also agrees with him, writing to the  
 ‘ purpose, and saying after this manner: *Who-*  
 ‘ *soever invents or devises any opinion contrary*  
 ‘ *to the holy scripture, if he publickly teach it,*  
 ‘ *and obstinately defend it, he is to be accounted*  
 ‘ *an heretick.* Wherefore, master, seeing you  
 ‘ are convicted of not only holding what is  
 ‘ contrary to the sayings of all these doctors,  
 ‘ but moreover to be a contradictor of them;  
 ‘ it behoves us, according to the doctrine of  
 ‘ the said doctor *Jerome\**, to cut you off from  
 ‘ the body of the universal church, as rotten  
 ‘ flesh, and to drive you from the fold as a  
 ‘ scabbed sheep, that you may not have it in  
 ‘ your power to corrupt or infect the whole  
 ‘ flock. Choose therefore for yourself one of  
 ‘ these

\* Igitur scintilla statim ut apparuerit extinguenda est, et fermentum a massa viciniā semovendum; secundæ putridæ carnes, et scabiosum animal a caulis ovium repellendum, ne tota domus, massa, corpus, & pecora, ardeat, corrumpatur, putrescat, intereant, &c. *Comm. in epist. ad Galatas cap. v. ver. 9* And yet this same father could elsewhere observe, that the church of Christ is founded by shedding of blood, and by suffering reproaches, rather than by being the author of them, that it grew by persecutions, and is crowned with martyrdoms. Accordingly in exp'aining the parable of the tares he notes on those words, *lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them*; that “we are taught or advised by them, not soon to lop off a brother, because it may be, that he who to-day is corrupted with an hurtful opinion, may tomorrow repent, and be an advocate for the truth.” To the same purpose elsewhere, “we are taught, *saieth he*, never to despair of hereticks, but to persuade them to repentance, and to desire their salvation with a brotherly affection.”

Ep. 62. ad  
*Theophilum,*  
 &c.

Com. in *He-*  
*seam*, cap. xi  
 ver. 1.

‘ these two things ; whether you had rather  
 ‘ recede from your errors, and make a publick  
 ‘ abjuration, and so, for the future, agree  
 ‘ with the rest of *Christ’s* faithful ones in your  
 ‘ opinions ; or whether you’ll incur the penal-  
 ‘ ty of the canons, and not only suffer the re-  
 ‘ proach of degradation, but also moreover be  
 ‘ delivered over to the power of the secular  
 ‘ arm, that because you have attempted by force  
 ‘ to plunder the treasury of faith, you may be-  
 ‘ come, according to the saying of the pro-  
 ‘ phet, *as well the jewel of the fire, as the food*  
 ‘ *of the burning.* Of these two choose one  
 ‘ for yourself, for this is the immediate division  
 ‘ in the coercion of hereticks.’

28. In this speech of the archbishop’s its  
 observable, 1. that his grace says not one word  
 of the article, wherewith the bishop was now  
 charged, *viz.* that *it is not necessary to salva-*  
*tion to believe in the Holy Ghost*; which looks,  
 as if his grace thought his lordship falsely ac-  
 cused of holding that conclusion. 2. The  
 archbishop owns, that the article of *Christ’s*  
*descent into hell* was not in the *Nicene* nor  
*Athanasian* creeds; which latter has been  
 guessed to have been composed between the  
 year 426 and the year 430. A copy of this  
 creed, without this article, is given us by that  
 prodigy of learning archbishop *Usher*. It  
 seems as if our bishop had, in defence of his  
 saying, that this was an article not necessary  
 to be believed in order to salvation, urged,  
 that

Dr. Water-  
 land’s critical  
 history of the  
*Athanasian*  
 creed, p. 116.

that this article was not in the *Nicene* or *Athanasian* creed, as we know he pleaded in those writings which we have of his, that it was not in the common creed, or that which is called the *Roman* or apostles. To this the archbishop here replies, that the *Tarentum* doctor had given this reason for the said article being left out of those creeds, that, 'when they were drawn up, no heresy was risen against it.' But if the account we have of the reason of the addition of these words, viz. that it was occasioned by the heresy of *Apollinarius* the younger, bishop of *Laodicea*, which was condemned at *Alexandria*, and the bishop himself anathematized as an heretick at *Constantinople*, A. D. 381; and, that this article was first inserted in any publick creed about the year 400, this can never be the reason of its omission in the *Athanasian* creed, which was not made 'till near thirty years after the insertion of this article in the common creed, and almost fifty years after the dispute which occasioned this addition to be made.

29. The archbishop's quotation from St. *August. c. ep. Austin* is a trite argument, used by those of the *Romish* church, for the authority of the clergy, to prove, that *they* are of more credit than is any gospel; Dr. *Wiclif* mentions it as used in his time, and other of the popish writers have produced it since. But *Tho. Walden*, a cotemporary of our bishop, and confessor to *K. Henry*, gives the following answer to this

Critical history of the apostles creed p. 246, 248, 261.

*August. c. ep. fund.*

*Wiclif's* life p. 127, 128.

*Wharton's* preface to *B. Pecock's* treatise of faith, p. 23, 24.

Q

famous



famous passage of this celebrated father of the western church. I do not, says he, approve  
 ‘ the arrogance of some writers, who upon occasion of this place maintain the decrees of  
 ‘ bishops in the church to be of greater weight, authority, and dignity, than is the authority  
 ‘ of the scriptures; which seemeth not so foolish, as mad. Unless such an one would  
 ‘ say *Philip* was greater than *Christ*, when he induced *Nathanael* to believe, that *Christ* was  
 ‘ he, of whom *Moses* wrote in the law, and the prophets, although without his authority (or  
 ‘ admonition) he would not at that time have perceived it.——All ecclesiastical authority,  
 ‘ since it serveth only to bear testimony of *Christ* and his laws, is of less dignity than  
 ‘ the laws of *Christ*, and must necessarily submit to the holy scriptures. Well therefore  
 ‘ did *St. Thomas (Aquinas)* allegorize, when he introduced the *Samaritan* woman to represent  
 ‘ the universal church; which woman when the citizens of *Samaria* heard preaching  
 ‘ *Christ*, they were induced to believe on him, &c. This passage (as *Mr. Wharton* observes ) clearly represents to us the opinion of  
 ‘ *Walden* to have been, that by the attestation of the church the divine authority of the  
 ‘ scripture is known; which being once known, all matters of belief, and articles of faith are  
 ‘ to be learned from the scripture: Just as *Philip* induced *Nathanael*, and the *Samaritan*  
 ‘ woman her neighbours, to believe *Christ* to be

' be a divine person ; of the truth of which  
' when once satisfied, they learned not the  
' rules of life, or articles of faith, from *Philip*  
' *lip* or the woman, but received both from  
' *Christ* himself.' But to such extravagancies  
were the popes now running things, that in  
the *decrees* it is insinuated, that not only†  
the discipline of the holy canons, but the  
ancient institution of the christian religion, is  
rather to be had from *their* mouths, than  
from the sacred pages, and the traditions of  
their fathers ; that christians ought to consult  
*their* will only, and at *their* pleasure to relax,  
or be more regardful of their conversation.

28. Pope *Gregory's* decree concerning the  
authority of the four councils seems misre-  
presented by the archbishop, since certainly  
there's some difference betwixt affirming, that  
those four councils are not less to be honoured  
and revered than the four books of the ho-  
ly gospel ; and saying, that as he received and  
reverenced the four books of the holy gospel,  
so he confessed he received and reverenced  
those four councils ; which is all that the pope  
there says.

Q 2

29.

† Et revera tanta reverentia apicem præfatæ apostolicæ se-  
dis omnes suspiciunt, ut nonnullam sanctorum canonum disci-  
plinam, & antiquam christianæ religionis institutionem magis  
ab ore præcessoris ejus, quam a sacris paginis, et paternis tradi-  
tionibus expectant: illius velle, illius nolle, tantum explorant,  
ut ad ejus arbitrium suam conversationem et ipsi remittant, aut  
intendant. *Decreti prima pars*, dist. 40. c. 6.

Mr. Wharton's  
preface to Bp.  
Pecock's treatise  
of faith,  
p. xxxix.

29. The archbishop's saying, that it was the unanimous opinion of all the doctors, that tho' the sacred councils may err in matters of fact, they cannot yet be mistaken in matters of faith, is a misreporting them or mistaking them. Since, that the catholick or universal church, in a general council, may err even in matters of faith, was the opinion of the following eminent doctors, viz. *Occam*, *Peter de Alliaco*, cardinal of *Cambray*, *Thomas Walden* before-mentioned, *Panormitan*, *Antoninus*, cardinal *Cusanus*, *Nicholas de Clemangis*, and many others in this age. Tho' indeed, if, as the archbishop represents this opinion, such sacred councils may mistake in matters of fact, it seems inconsistent with the argument used by his grace before, to prove the authority of the church or clergy greater than that of the gospel; since, how can they be depended on as keepers and witnesses of holy writ, who may be mistaken in a plain matter of fact?

30. His grace's observation, relating to the understanding the sense and meaning of the holy scriptures, seems no way to affect the bishop; whose opinion it was, that the clergy ought not to induce or constrain other people in the belief and faith of any other point and articles, as upon the faith of which dependeth our salvation, than are exprest in the literal or grammatical sense of the holy scriptures, or follow them so expressed. What is this but in other words to say as St. *Hierome* does,

does, that holy scripture is to be understood as the sense of the † holy spirit requires, by whose finger it was written?

33. But however weak the archbishop's reasoning and arguing might be, the threats with which it was concluded proved, it seems, too strong for our bishop; in so much that we are told he was so thoroughly terrified with them, as to be struck quite dumb, and after a little recollection to make the following low abject answer. 'I am in a strait on all sides, and  
' for a little while under a distrust which of  
' the two offers it is best for me to accept;  
' for if I should defend my opinions and posi-  
' tions, I am sure to suffer death and be burnt;  
' and if I do not defend them, I shall as sure-  
' ly be made a gazing stock by the reproaches  
' of men, and not go off without scandal. It  
' is better however for me to suffer the reproa-  
' ches of the people, than to desert the law  
' of faith, and to be sent after my death into  
' hell-fire and the place of punishment. I  
' make it my choice therefore to abjure, and  
' intend for the future so to live, as not to de-  
' serve any such citation, as has now been ser-  
' ved upon me, nor to give any even the least  
' suspicion at any time hereafter.'

*Acta Joannis  
Whethamsted,  
MS.*

Q 3

34.

† Nunquam *Pauli* sensum ingredieris, nisi *Pauli* spiritum imbiberis—Nunquam *Davidem* intelliges, donec ipsa experientia psalmorum affectus indueris. *Bernardi Sermo ad patres de monte.*



34. The opinions or positions of the bishop, here referred to, were thus represented by the doctors, who examined his books, in the *six* following articles or conclusions; which they censured as favouring of heretical pravity, and which the archbishop condemned as erroneous and heretical.

I. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe that our lord *Jesus Christ* after his death descended into hell.

II. *Item*, that it is not necessary to salvation to believe *in* the Holy-Ghost.

III. *Item*, that it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the holy catholick church||.

IV. *Item*, that it is not necessary to salvation to believe *in* the communion of saints.

V. *Item*, that the universal church may err in those things which are of faith.

VI.

Fol. 218, b.

|| This seems to have been the common reading of this article at this time, the better, I suppose, to prove that infallible authority of the church or clergy, which was now become the fashionable opinion. Thus on a tomb-stone in the high chancel of the church of *Feversham* in *Kent*, on which is the effigies of *William Thornbury*, in brass, a vicar of that church, who died 1408, I find this inscription in a semicirclet of brass over his head; *Credo in sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem*. However it was afterwards altered, or read otherwise, as appears by an exposition of the creed in *English*, printed by *de Worde*, 1531, wherein this article is thus read, *I believe a holy chirche catholical*. On which the author thus expounds, pope *Leo* saith, and *Alexander de Ales* reciteth the same, it should not be said *I believe into the holy chirche catholical*, but rather thus, *I beleve the holy church catholical*. — And although *S. Anselm* and other doctors expound this article otherwise, yet I suppose this manner of exposition to be most common among holy doctors of the church.

VI. *Item*, that it is not necessary to salvation to believe and hold, that what a general council and the universal church appoints, approves, or determines in favour of the faith, and for the salvation of souls, is to be approved of and holden by all the faithful members of *Christ*. Likewise, that what she reprobates, determines, or condemns to be contrary to the catholick faith, or good manners, is therefore by the same faithful ones to be believed and held as reprobated and condemned.

35. These conclusions we may observe contained none of those assertions, with which our bishop is charged by *Gascoigne* and *Bury*; but being condemned by the archbishop and his assessors as erroneous and heretical, the bishop was obliged, according to the choice given him, either to make a publick abjuration of them, and acknowledge their falseness; or else to be degraded from his episcopal office, and delivered over to the secular arm to be burnt to death. And here we have an unhappy instance of human weakness and frailty, by which the bishop was induced to yield, and give way to the terrors which were made use of to frighten him into a submission to that unjust authority, which was usurped over him. He therefore, tho' with great reluctance and unwillingness, submitted to abjure the above-mentioned conclusions before the archbishop in his court of audience. In the form prescribed to him for this purpose (which was in

Q 4

*Latin*)

*Latin*) he stiles himself ' the unworthy bishop of *Chichester*, and positively confesses ' and owns, and, as he is made to say, purely ' and of his own accord, that for above twenty years last past he had taught, written, and ' dogmatized concerning the sacraments of the ' church, and the articles of the faith, otherwise than was held and taught by the church ' of *Rome*; that he had maintained many ' and diverse pernicious opinions, contrary to ' the true catholick and apostolick faith, and ' had made, written, set forth, and publish'd ' books and writings containing in them heresies and errors, contrary to the catholick ' faith and good-manners;' particularly the heresies and errors contained in the *six* articles above mentioned: ' Wherefore he the said ' *Reynald*, a miserable sinner, who had long ' walked in darkness, and was now by the ' mercy of GOD brought back to the light ' and path of truth, and was returning to the ' unity of holy mother church, did solemnly ' and publickly revoke the abovesaid heresies ' and errors, and all others whatsoever contained in his books, works, or writings, and ' did detest, anathematize, and by the holy ' and consubstantial trinity, and those holy ' gospels which he then handled, abjure them ' and every other species of heresy; and did ' also positively swear, that he would humbly ' submit to the penance canonically to be enjoined him on account of the premisses; and ' that

‘ that for the future he would not by word,  
 ‘ signs, or deed, encourage such errors and he-  
 ‘ resies, of whatsoever kind or sort they be,  
 ‘ or directly or indirectly by word or deed,  
 ‘ publickly or secretly, or otherwise by any  
 ‘ means induce others to believe them ; and  
 ‘ that he pronounced all and singular who  
 ‘ went against, or contrary to the true catho-  
 ‘ lick and apostolick faith, together with their  
 ‘ opinions and followers, to be worthy of  
 ‘ being eternally anathematized ; that he him-  
 ‘ self, if he should discover any one to think,  
 ‘ hold, teach, or preach, any thing contrary  
 ‘ to the same faith, would execute on him the  
 ‘ severity of the canons ; and that he did of  
 ‘ his own accord subscribe with his own hand,  
 ‘ in testimony of the premisses, this writing  
 ‘ by him now read, and read through.’

36. The teaching or holding concerning  
 the sacraments of the church, otherwise than  
 was held and taught by the church of *Rome*,  
 was at this time a common note of heresy,  
 and sufficient of itself to denominate a man an  
 heretick, tho’ he was never so sound in the  
 faith. Thus when some of the *Waldenses*  
 came over hither in the reign of K. *Henry II.*  
 the historian tells us, that ‘ they being exa-  
 ‘ mined\* in order concerning the articles  
 ‘ of

\* Interrogati per ordinem de sacræ fidei articulis, de sub-  
 stantia quidem superni medici recta, deejus vero remediis, qui-  
 bus humanæ infirmitati mederi dignatur, id est divinis sacra-  
 mentis, perversa dixerunt. *Gul. Neubrigensis historia*, lib. II.  
 c. 13.



' of the holy faith, answered right as touch-  
 ' ing the substance of the supreme physician;  
 ' but as for his remedies, by which he vouch-  
 ' safes to heal human infirmities, that is the  
 ' divine sacraments, they spoke perversly of  
 ' them, detesting holy baptism, the eucharist,  
 ' matrimony, &c.' Thus we are told of our  
 bishop, that he affirmed that ' pope Gregory's  
 ' saying†, *Homi. 26. that the faith has no*  
 ' *merit, which is proved by man's reason, is false.*'  
 By which is insinuated, that our bishop  
 thought very perversely of the sacrament of  
 the eucharist, or did not believe the legend of  
 transubstantiation. Pope Gregory's words are,  
 ' How was the lord's body after the resurrec-  
 ' tion a true body, that could enter the house  
 ' when the doors were shut? But we must  
 ' know, that a divine operation is not wonder-  
 ' ful, if it may be comprehended; nor has  
 ' faith any merit, to which human reason  
 ' gives experiment,' or which can be prov'd  
 to be agreeable to man's reason. Of this fool-  
 ish saying of this pope's the papists are grown  
 very fond, since the invention of that absurd  
 and nonsensical doctrine of transubstantiation:  
 as if because *that* fancy is a direct contradiction  
 to not only our reason, but our senses; there-  
 fore faith must oblige us to believe things con-  
 trary

† Scribitur etiam de eodem *Reginaldo* episcopo, quod in libro  
 suo, quem ipse intitulat *de fide*, dicit et scribit, quod hoc dictum  
 B. Gregorii (Hom. 6.) *fides non habet meritum, cui humana*  
*ratio præbet experimentum, est falsum.* Gascoigne Dictio. Theo.  
 p. 502. V. fides.

trary to all sense and reason, and there is no faith so meritorious as a nonsensical and irrational one. Hence that fanatic prayer in the hours of the blessed virgin: *Peto, domine Jesu Christe, largire michi in amore tuo modum sine mensura, effectum sine modo, languorem sine ordine, ardorem sine discretione. Amen.*

In usum Sacerdotum, fol. 124, edit. Paris, 1519.

A nonsensical faith and indiscreet devotion, or an ardour without discretion, are very fit to accompany one another. Akin to this are the raptures of a more modern devotionist of theirs in our own language :

*Down busy sense, discourses dy,  
And all adore faith's mystery:  
Faith is my skill, faith can believe,*

---

*Faith is my eye,*

37. Such rants as these could be no way agreeable to our bishop, who had so often declared for the obedience of all GOD's creatures by the judgment of reason; and affirmed, that neither the determinations of the angels in heaven, or of the clergy on earth, against or contrary to it are to be assented to. However from hence the bishop's adversaries seem to have taken occasion to represent his lordship, as teaching concerning the sacraments of the church, otherwise than it was taught by the church of *Rome*.

38. It is further insinuated in this abjuration of the bishop's, that he had published in his books other heresies and errors, besides those

Devotions in the ancient way of offices, p. 185, ed. Roan, 1684, p. 209. ed. London, 1701.

those contained in the *six* conclusions now condemned. What these were is not here particularly specified but its not improbable they were the conclusions mentioned by *Gascoigne*, and those which *Bury* opposed, at the command of the archbishop, as has been said before. But however this be, this abjuration of the bishop was made by him at **Lambeth**, November 28, 1457, as was before hinted.

Historia, &c.  
univer. Oxon.

39. These matters being thus transacted, our bishop, we are told, was sent down to *Canterbury*, to do penance for his offences; where its said he used to repeat the following verses to those who visited him during his short stay there :

† **Wit hath wonder that reason cannot  
shann,  
How a moder is maid, and GOD is  
man.**

This, I suppose, was intended as a reflection on what the bishop had writ of the force and obligation of reason. And therefore *Gascoigne*, who tells us this of him, immediately subjoins||:

**Leve**

† Under a wooden cut of Joseph and Mary, and the infant Jesus lying in a manger, these rhimes are thus printed.

Reason doth wonder how faith tel can,  
That a maid is a mother, and God a man;  
Let reason go and believe a wonder,  
Faith is above, and reason is under.

quoth antiquity.

|| The editor of the history and antiquities of the university of *Oxford* thus represents this ; *quibus in hunc modum pie subjecit Gascoignus noster.*

**Lebe reason, belebe the wonder,  
Belef hath mastery, and reason is unde?**

However this be, our bishop could not continue long at *Canterbury*, since the day fix'd for his more publick abjuration, which is said to be either *Novem. 29*, the day after his abjuring at **Lambhith**, or at farthest \* *Dec. 4*, was but five days to come. This consideration is indeed enough to make us suspect the truth of his lordship's being sent down to *Canterbury* at all, for that the time was little more than enough for him, at that time of the year, to go from *London* to *Canterbury*, and from thence back again. However this be, when the day appointed for the bishop's more publick and solemn abjuration at *Paul's* cross was come, he was brought thither, we are told, habited in his stole†, or episcopal habit, and placed at the archbishop's feet. Besides many thousands (*Gascoigne* says 20,000) of people, which were then got together on this occasion, there were present, its said, as the archbishop's assessors or auditors, *Thomas Kempe* bishop of *London*, *John Lowe* bishop of

\* Acta fuerunt ista et peracta in anno domini 1457, mensis Decembris die 4<sup>o</sup>, et regni regis *Henrici VI.* anno 36. *Joh. Whethamsted.* Acta &c. MS.

† The stole worn by the bishops was a scarf of black silk, which was put about their necks, and hung down before them over their rochet. *Stola autem propria est diaconorum vestis.* Du Fresne Glossar.



of *Rocheſter*†, and *Lawrence Booth* biſhop of *Dunholm*; before whom, as judges, were produced fourteen of the biſhop's books, of which *three* were in folio, and the reſt in quarto, all which the biſhop was obliged to deliver with his own hands, to a man provided for that purpoſe, to be thrown into a large fire|| made at the croſs on this occaſion. Which being done in the preſence of the biſhop, he made the following abjuration in *Engliſh* at the ſame croſs.

39.

† Of this prelate *Bury* takes particular notice in his dedication to the archbiſhop, where he ſpeaks of him in the following manner *Adeſt utique vobis ille reverendus in Chriſto dominus meus, dominus Roſſenſis, ſtabilis columpna in templo domini, vir Benjamin, vir genuinus ab adoleſcentia ſua utraque manu ut dextra utens; qui nec ſic inſtitit ſcripturis, ut humanitatis in ſe ſtudia aliquando vacaſſe credantur; nec ſic humanas literas amplexatus eſt, quin ſemper eas divinis exegerit ſubſervire.* His tomb of gray *Suffex* marble is ſtill remaining on the north ſide of the choir of *Rocheſter* cathedral, with theſe inſcriptions in old church text.

Round the edge of the top ſtone weſt, ſouth, and eaſt:  
*Miferere Deus anime R. Joannis Lowe epiſcopi. Credo videre bona domini in terra viventium. Sancte Andrea et Auguſtine, orate pro nobis.*

On the middle of the ſouth ſide of the tomb are cut ſeven eſcutcheons, in five of which are theſe fix words:

*Jeſus eſt amor meus, Deo gratias.*

Round the edge of a verge at the bottom:

*Quam breve ſpatium haec mundi gloria? Ut umbra hominis ſunt ejus gaudia.*

|| This ſeems inconfiſtent with a copy of the biſhop's book called the *Repreſſour*, &c. which is atteſted by the notary or aſſuary to be exhibited to the archbiſhop in his chapel at *Lambeth*, Nov. 11, 1457, being ſtill preſerved. But the books which were burnt might be other copies.

39. In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Reginald Pecock, bishop of Chichester, unwor-  
thy, of my own pure and free will, without any maner of coercion or dread, confesse and acknowledge, that I have before time, presuming upon my own natural wit, and preferring the natural judgment of reason before the old testament and the new, and also above the determination of our modre, the holy catholick church, have holden, sealed, written, and taught otherwise than the holy Roman<sup>c</sup> and universal church teacheth, preacheth and observeth. And over this, against the true catholick and apostolick faith, I have made<sup>d</sup>, written, taken out, and published many and divers perillous and pernicious doctrines, books, works and writings, containing in them heresies and errors contrary to the catholick faith, and determination of the holy church; and especially these errors and heresies following, that is to say; Quod non est de necessitate salutis credere, quod dominus noster Jesus Christus descendit ad inferos. Item, quod &c. as before. — Wherefore I miserable sinner, who heretofore have walked in darkness, and now by the mercy and infinite goodness of GOD am reduced into the right way, and light of

E coll. R. R.  
White, episc.  
Petrobur.

<sup>a</sup> Or compulsion.

<sup>b</sup> The judgment of my natural reason.

<sup>c</sup> Holy Roman church holdeth, teacheth, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Set forth, written, and taught, and also published many perillous and pernicious doctrines; and also books, containing in them heresies and errors, contrary to the catholick faith, and the determination of the whole church.

<sup>e</sup> Come again  
to the unity  
of holy mo-  
ther church.

<sup>f</sup> My foresaid  
books and  
works I do  
here

<sup>g</sup> All other opi-  
nions favour-  
ing of hereti-  
cal pravity

<sup>h</sup> Father in  
Christ

In canonical  
form judicial-

ly

<sup>i</sup> Truly peni-  
tent and truly  
contrite.

<sup>k</sup> I exhort and  
require

<sup>l</sup> For the salva-  
tion of all the  
souls that are  
here, and al-  
so of my own  
soul,

<sup>m</sup> From this  
time forwards

<sup>n</sup> Possible haste,  
or to some  
commissary of  
his deputed  
for this pur-  
pose.

of truth, considering my self grebously  
to have synned, and wyckedly to have  
ynformed and infected the people of  
GOD, return and turn<sup>e</sup> again to the u-  
nity of our mother, holy church; and all  
the heresies and errors abobe rehearsed,  
and also all other heresies and errors  
written and contained in my<sup>e</sup> books,  
works, and writings here solemnly  
and openly reboke and renounce; which  
heresies and errors, and all other<sup>s</sup> spice  
of heresy, I have before this time, be-  
fore the most reberend father<sup>n</sup> in GOD,  
my lord of Canterbury, in due and law-  
ful form judicially abjured; submit-  
ting myself (being then and also at this  
time a contrite<sup>i</sup> and penitent sinner) to  
the correction of the church, and of my  
said lord of Canterbury. And ober this  
exhorting and requiring, in the name  
and birtue of almighty GOD<sup>l</sup>, into the  
salvation of your souls and of mine,  
that no man hereafter<sup>m</sup> gibe faith or cre-  
dence to my said pernicious doctrynes,  
heresies, and errors, neither my foresaid  
books keep, hold, and read in any wise;  
but that they all such books, works,  
and writings suspect of heresy, and de-  
liber in all goodly<sup>n</sup> haste unto my said  
lord of Canterbury, or to his commissa-  
ries, or deputies, in eschewing of many  
inconveniencies, and great perils of  
souls,

souls, the which<sup>o</sup> ills might ensue of<sup>o</sup> which might  
 the contrary. <sup>p</sup>To this declaration of<sup>o</sup> otherwise be  
 my conberſion and repentance I here o<sup>o</sup> caused and  
 penly aſſent, that my ſaid books and<sup>p</sup> happen.  
 writings for conſideracton and cauſe a-<sup>p</sup> And more-  
 bove rehearſed, be delibered and deputed over for a  
 to the fire, and openly burnt<sup>o</sup> into ex-<sup>o</sup> plain  
 ample and terror of all other.<sup>o</sup> For an exam-  
 ple and the  
 terror

40. By another writer of thoſe times we  
 are told, that when the biſhop had ended this  
 his open and publick abjuration, a great many  
 of his books were immediately brought forth,  
 and caſt into the fire, which was then made for  
 that purpoſe, for their utter deſtruction, and  
 for a ſign of perpetual condemnation. To  
 which *Gascoigne* adds, that the biſhop ſaid  
 publickly, \**My pride and preſumption have*  
*brought theſe calamities and reproaches upon*  
*me.* *Johan. Whetbamſted.*

41. Thus ingloriouſly did this great man  
 fall, being overcome by his own fears, and not  
 having courage and reſolution enough to ha-  
 zard the poor remainder of a life, almoſt  
 worn out already, and come to an end; and  
 thereby has given to others this uſeful leſſon,  
 when they think they ſtand, to take heed leaſt  
 they fall, and always to remember, that how-  
 ever willing the ſpirit of a man may be, his  
 fleſh is weak. But ſo far were the biſhop's  
 R enemies

\* Et dixit etiam idem episcopus publice, *Superbia mea &*  
*presumptio mea induxerunt me ad hæc mala et opprobria. Gas-*  
*coigne, &c.*



Wethamsted,  
Asta MS.

enemies from thus recollecting themselves, and treating his memory with a spirit of meekness, considering that *they* themselves might be so tempted; that they treated him with all possible rudeness, and reflected on his memory with the utmost inhumanity. Thus one of them closes the account which he gives of his lordship. 'And thus,' *saiſt he*, 'that most wretched pastor (and by how much the more wise he was in his own conceit, by so much the more he played the fool, and was the more unsound, as he seemed to himself to be more sound) was convicted to be of an unsound opinion. Now he thinks humbly of himself, is humbly wise for himself, and humbly nay most humbly confesses that he was mistaken, and that he was more wise than he ought to have been. Thus also that most impious intoxicator, who had imbibed the poison of perfidiousness, that he might pour it out again, and infectiously inform the simple people in the faith, now spewed it out and vomited it up in such a manner, that whilst the sun darts forth a ray, or *Mars* wears a sword, he shall never dare to drink and swallow it any more. Thus moreover that horrible monster, which the kingdom of *England* now lately produced by a miscarriage, the archiepiscopal authority reformed for the better, and of a rude and deformed mass made him to be the habitation of the Holy Ghost, and

' the receptacle of better grace.' And thus yet farther, that the remembrance of his name may be more freshly kept in mind, it is written of the bishop in verse, in the following words:

' Sic deplumatus pavo fuit et spoliatus,  
' Sicque sibi filuit vox, quia rauca fuit;  
' Sic dudum volucris que nomen habebat honoris,  
' Bubo non pavo dicitur esse modo.  
' Nomine privari vult atque gradu spoliari,  
' Qui violat fidei dogmata sive Dei.  
' Ne sic priveris, hec qui legis, aut spolieris;  
' Nec basse tendas, nec nimis alta petas.  
' Dum medium tenuit currum patris bene rexit,  
' Alta sed ut petiit, *Pheton* ab arce ruit.

42. In this manner did the zealots against what was called heresy exercise the very lowest sort of wit to abuse the bishop, and reflect on his memory. They made puns, we see, on his name, which because it was *Pecock*, they therefore very wittily, as they imagined, compared him to that bird, and represented him as stripped of all his fine feathers, and changed from a *peacock* to an *owl*. But indeed the bishop had given but too much occasion for this despiteful treatment, in yielding to declare in so publick and solemn a manner, that he abjured the conclusions before-mentioned of his own pure and free-will, without any manner of coercion, or dread, or compulsion;

when it was very visible, that had it not been for fear of the flames, with which he was threatned, he had never made any such confession or abjuration. This, however, shews the consequence of the use of force and violence in matters of conscience or religion: that tho' its impossible to write the truth on men's minds with the points of swords, or to enlighten their understandings with making bonfires of their bodies; yet they may be so far terrified by the apprehensions of the cruelties, with which they were threatened, as for the sake of avoiding them to profess outwardly, what they do not inwardly and really think and mean. How far this was our bishop's case, may be judged, by what has been already said. And indeed one would think it could not be otherwise than his case; since its notorious, that some of the conclusions, for holding which his lordship was convicted of heretical pravity, or however of error, were maintained by many of the doctors of even the *Roman* church; and that in particular the *third* and *fourth* of them have been since established, and authorized by their famous council of *Trent*. But to proceed in the account of the prosecution of the bishop.

Reg. Geo.  
Nevil, episco.  
Exoni. fol. 38.

March 9.  
1457.

43. These revocations and recantations of our bishop the archbishop transmitted to the several bishops of his province, requiring them to publish them in their respective dioceses. Towards the latter end of this year his grace issued

issued out his archiepiscopal mandate to *Thomas Kempe*, bishop of *London*, in which he tells his lordship, that ' he had heard there ' were some of both sexes belonging to his ' province of *Canterbury*, who would fain be ' *more wise than they need*, who had books of ' diverse works, not only of brother *Reginald* ' bishop of *Chichester*, written in the vulgar ' tongue, but some others by the same brother, ' and others against ecclesiastical prohibitions, ' and the decrees of the holy fathers translated ' out of *Latin* into *English*; certain of which ' having been exhibited before him, judici- ' ally sitting on his tribunal, and specially exa- ' mined, he had condemned, as containing ' heresies, errors, and things sounding ill, con- ' trary to the determination of holy mother ' church, and to the orthodox faith, and had ' decreed them to be burnt, justice so requi- ' ring. Wherefore by the tenor of the pre- ' sents he committed it to him, and com- ' manded him, that with all fitting dispatch ' he by his letters, containing the contents of ' this mandate, admonished, or caused to be ' admonished, all and singular his fellow bi- ' shops and suffragans within the province of ' *Canterbury*, and their vicars general in spiri- ' tuals, if there were any, that they and eve- ' ry of them in their respective dioceses do ' make inquisition, or cause it to be made, con- ' cerning the names and surnames of those in ' their dioceses, who have such books, and that



‘ they admonish, or cause to be admonished,  
 ‘ all and singular who have such books, of  
 ‘ whatever state, preeminence, degree, order,  
 ‘ sex or condition they be; that within *fifteen*  
 ‘ days after admonition made to them on this  
 ‘ account, they effectually deliver the said  
 ‘ books to his said brethren, or to their offici-  
 ‘ als, on pain of the greater excommunication,  
 ‘ The bishop is likewise required to do the  
 ‘ same in his own diocese, and to enjoin his  
 ‘ brethren and fellow suffragans aforesaid,  
 ‘ that every one of them do for himself, be-  
 ‘ fore the 21<sup>st</sup> day of *May* next, distinctly and  
 ‘ plainly certify by their letters to the arch-  
 ‘ bishop or his commissaries, what they have  
 ‘ done, and the names of those who have such  
 ‘ books.’

44. The archbishop adds, on account of  
 the civil disturbances with which the kingdom  
 was now infested, by the duke of *York*’s as-  
 piring to the crown, that it is his ‘ command,  
 ‘ that the bishop by his letters injoyn all and  
 ‘ singular his brethren, and fellow bishops of  
 ‘ the province of *Canterbury*, that they and  
 ‘ every of them in their cathedral churches,  
 ‘ and other churches conventual and collegiate,  
 ‘ as well secular and regular, and in the pa-  
 ‘ rish churches of their cities and dioceses, on  
 ‘ the lord’s days and festivals, do effectually  
 ‘ move and induce their subjects both clergy  
 ‘ and laity, that they first of all being returned  
 ‘ from their evil thoughts and ways by confes-  
 sion

‘fion and penance, do with all devotion of  
 ‘heart make solemn processions every *Wed-*  
 ‘*nesday* and *Friday*, with chaunting of the li-  
 ‘tany in their churches or about them, as the  
 ‘custom is, for the peace, unity, tranquillity,  
 ‘and prosperity of the king and kingdom of  
 ‘*England*; *that† it may please G O D, who*  
 ‘*is the comforter of all in adversity, and does*  
 ‘*not despise those who trust in him, to preserve*  
 ‘*the universal church of England, the king,*  
 ‘*and kingdom.*’ His grace concludes this his  
 mandate with a grant of an indulgence of for-  
 ty days, and a request to his suffragans, that  
 they would bestow the like; which grant, he  
 says, he concedes, that he might rouse the minds  
 of the faithful to repentance and prayer.

45. Of the execution of this mandate we  
 have the certificate of *William Grey* bishop of  
*Ely*, who certified, that he had by the au-  
 thority of the abovesaid letters caused an in-  
 quisition to be made in his city and diocese of  
*Ely*, on *Thursday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday*, the  
 sixth, seventh, and eighth days of the month  
 of *April*, concerning all and singular the things  
 contained in the said letters; and on the *Sun-*  
*day* following had caused a publick and gene-

A. D. 1458.

R 4

ral

† *Ut Deus consolator in adversis, cunctos in se sperantes nec  
 despiciat, universalem ecclesiam Anglicanam, regem et regnum,  
 conservare dignetur.* This suffrage being on this occasion  
 by the archbishop's order inserted in the common litany shews  
 the weakness of the insinuation, that before the reformation  
 there were no prayers composed suitable to the particular oc-  
 casions of a fast or thanksgiving.

ral monition to be made in his cathedral church, and every other church of his city and diocese, to all and singular who had such books, to deliver them up within fifteen days after this monition, &c. but that he could find no one in his city and diocese who had such books, or any book of this sort, or who did relish such things, or hold, teach, or preach these sorts of errors or heresies.

46. His lordship likewise in his mandate to master *Roger Ratclif*, I.L.D. his official to execute the archbishop's letters, grants forty days† of indulgence, as the archbishop had desired him to do, to all those who are present at and devoutly preach up the processions before mentioned.

Histo. et antiquit. Oxon.  
Vol. I. p.  
323, col. 1.

47. The university of *Oxford* was more forward, since we are told that *Novem. 17, 1457*, above a fortnight before the bishop's books, &c. were burnt at *Paul's cross*, as many copies of them, as could be found at *Oxford*, were burnt at the cross-way commonly called *Quatervoix* or *Carfax*, master *Tho. Chandler*|| the chancellor and all the scholars of the university going thither in a solemn procession. In this they seem to have outstrip'd the zeal of even the

† Adscripta erant nomina episcoporum a suffragiis, qui illud invisentibus non absque munusculo tantum impartierunt relaxationis, quantum ex suo dimenso largiri possunt. ME. Quantum id est? Oc. Dierum quadraginta. *Erasmi colloquium* cui titulus, *Peregrinatio religionis* ergo.

|| Warden of *New-College*, and afterwards dean of the king's chapel, and of the church of *Hereford*,

the archbishop himself. And yet its said, that in less than a month after, the chancellor, &c. certified the archbishop by their letters of what they had done; at the same time declaring their abhorrence of the bishop's opinions, and begging his grace's pardon for their being so long silent about them.

48. The archbishop likewise, in imitation of archbishop *Arundel*, who ordered *Wodford* to defend the condemnation of the conclusions taken out of *Dr. Wiclif's Trialogus*, commanded *John Bury*\*, a provincial friar of the order of the friars heremites of St. *Augustine*, in the province of *Canterbury*, to write against the conclusions maintained by the bishop in one of his books, called the *Repressour*, &c. tho' it does not appear to me, that they were judicially condemned. And so zealous was the king, or those about him, that, by way of *appendix* a clause was added to the statutes of *King's-College*, founded by his majesty about fourteen years before, in the following term. ' *I-*  
' *tem* statuimus, ordinamus, et volumus, quod  
' quilibet scholaris in admissione sua in collegi-  
' um nostrum regale predictum, post annos  
' probationis juret, quod non favebit opinionibus  
' bus damnatis, erroribus, aut heresibus Jo-  
' hannis

\* Inter quos et me pusillulum vestra dominatio irritandum duxit—Intuens ergo librum ejus, quem *Repressorem* vocat, non singulas hereses discutere, non errorum que in conjuncta sunt annotare vestigia cupiam; sed ad totius, ut arbitror, sui mali radicem. *Bury* Episto. ad archiep. MS.



‘*bannis Wiclyfe, Reginaldi Pecock, neque alicujus alterius heretici, quamdiu vixerit in hoc mundo, sub pena perjurii et expulsi- onis ipso facto.*’ And yet so it happened, that this college was one of the heretical colleges, notwithstanding all this caution.

49. As to the bishop himself, he had not yet received his final sentence, but was †ordered to be carried to **Maidstone** in *Kent*, where the archbishop then was at his palace in that town, there to wait for and expect it. How long he continued here, before this sentence was pronounced, I do not find. But by the archbishop’s letters for enquiring after the bishop’s books, &c. which have been before recited, it appears that he was acknowledged bishop of *Chichester*, almost four months after his abjuration at *Lambeth* and *Paul’s* crosses. However at length his definitive sentence was given, which was, that he should be deprived of his bishoprick. This was a part of the punishment of one condemned of heresy, or of being a fautor of it, that he should be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice. But, it seems, such was the bishop’s interest at the court of *Rome*, that he had from thence bulls of restitution, by which the archbishop was required to put him again in possession of his bishoprick, of which he had  
now

*Lyndwood*  
provinci. p.  
286, c. 2.  
293, c. 1.

† Postea archiepiscopus *Cantuar.* *Thomas Bourcher* mandavit eum ad *Maidstone* judicium expectaturum. *Gafoigne Dictio. Theolo. MS.*

now deprived him. The constitutions, on which the bishop seems to have been tried, allow of persons being absolved from the greater excommunication on their publicly owning their fault; nay, do not require the sentence to be denounced in case they repent and abjure in the accustomed form of the church. Now to this the bishop had submitted. He had revoked his books and errors, and publicly abjured them, not only before the archbishop sitting in court, but in a more publick manner at *Paul's* cross. It seems therefore to have been a stretch of the canonical sanctions to inflict the penalty of them on the bishop, and deprive him of his bishoprick, notwithstanding he had receded from his errors, and made a publick abjuration of them.

50. But be this as it will, on the bishop's procuring these bulls of the pope to be restored to his bishoprick, application was made by the archbishop to the king, to whom it was represented as follows: That *Reynold Pecock*, minister of the see of *Chichester*, had been detected and convicted of certain errors and heresies, and had abjured and taken his penance; that yet nevertheless he had surreptitiously purchased and obtained from our holy father the pope certain bulls for his declaration and restitution, contrary to the laws and *statutes provisors*, and to the great contempt and derogation of his majesty's prerogative

Certificat. super mandato regio in causa heretici *Pecock*, MS. e. coll. R. R. ep. *Petroburg.*

25 *Edw.* III.  
Stat. 6.

gative and estate royal. By these statutes it was recited, that the bishop of *Rome* did accroach to himself the seignorie of the possessions and benefices assigned to archbishops, bishops, &c. (in offence and destruction of the laws and rights of the realm, and to the great damage of the king's people, and in subversion of all the estate of his said realm) and gave and granted them, as if he was the patron or advowee of them; when as the kings, earls, barons, and other nobles, as lords and advowees, have had and ought to have the collation of such benefices. It was therefore enacted, that the said oppressions, &c. should not be suffered in any manner, and that in case of disturbance to patrons by *provisions*, the *provisors*, &c. shall be attached, and make fine and ransom to the king at his will, and before that they be delivered make full renunciation of all the words in the pope's bull, which are contrary or prejudicial to the king, and to his crown, and find sufficient surety that they shall not attempt such things in time to come; and that they, who have obtained, or shall obtain in the court of *Rome*, dignities, offices, chapels, or benefices of holy church, pertaining to the gift, &c. of the king, or of other lay patron of his realm, shall be arrested, and being convicted shall be punished as aforesaid. But now to shew the partiality of this representation it so happens, that not only the archbishop, but two how-  
ever

ever of his assessors, viz. *Kempe* and *Lowe*, were all promoted by papal provision. But this was no way reflected on, as being to the great contempt and derogation of his majesty's prerogative, &c.

51. On this representation made to him of the conduct of our bishop, his majesty issued out his royal mandate to the bishop of *St. Asaph*, and to *Robert Stillington*† clerk, 'to E collect.  
' put them in their devoire to know and un- White epif.  
' derstand the effect and contents of the said Petrobur.  
' bulls, and to call to them such and as many  
' most famous doctors in theology and law, as  
' they should think most necessary, and have  
' this matter communed among them, and  
' thereupon to certify his majesty by writing,  
' articularly subscribed with their own names  
' and signs manual, of such direction main-  
' tainable by law, as he ought to use, take,  
' and write farther, &c.' Which mandate is  
dated at *St. Albans*, the 17th day of *Septem-* A.D. 1458:  
*ber*.

52. In obedience to this mandate the bishop and doctor called in to their assistance twenty doctors of divinity and law, who all subscribed

† He was L.L.D. and fellow of *All Souls* college in *Oxford*; admitted canon of *Wells*, *August* 2, 1445; chancellor of *Wells*, *June* 6, 1447; archdeacon of *Taunton*, *April* 20, 1450; canon of *York* 1451; dean of the free royal chapel of *St. Martin le Grand*, *London*, 1460; keeper of the privy seal, 1461; archdeacon of *Colchester*, 1462; was elected bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and consecrated by *George Nevil*, archbishop of *York*, in the chapel of his palace of *Whitehall* near *Westminster*, 1465; and was lord chancellor of *England* 1468.



subscribed the certificate required, in which they certify his majesty, that, 'it is considered and thought by them all, that his highness might take and use lawfully, godly, and meritoriously in this matter or affair such directions, ways, and means, as be comprised in the articles underwritten, viz.'

53. '1. That his highness should send an ambassador to the pope, who should represent to him the bishop's pernicious *heresies*, and the dangers accruing to the church from them; and should desire, that he would cassate his bull of restitution, and appoint to the see a pious and learned bishop to be nominated by the king.'

'2. That since by the process and recantation of *Pecock* they think he was infected with heresy, long before he was translated to the see of *Chichester*, that translation was *ipso facto* null; and so it was lawful for the king, and expedient for the church, that the possessions of the see, which they call || *temporalities*, should immediately be seized by the king, and detained by him until a catholic successor be appointed.'

54. This advice was it seems well taken; the king returned the deputies thanks for their labour and diligence, and commanded them to meet again, to certify him of the principal points

|| Temporalia vocant prædia illa et possessiones, quæ ex principum aliorumque liberalitate obvenierunt. *Duarini de benef.* Lib. II. c. 2.

points of *heresies*, *blasphemies*, and detestable doctrines, that the said *Reginold Pecock* was convicted of; but what their return was, I have not yet found.

55. His majesty likewise commissioned \**John Derby* and *Gilbert Haydock*, S.T.P. to repair to our bishop, and tell him, how ' he ' had been addressed by many prelates and ' doctors of the church, to send ambassadors ' to the pope to remove him from the see of ' *Chichester*, as being of late detected and convicted of certain great and detestable crimes ' of heresy, the which intendeth to the final ' subversion of the faith of *Christ's* church, ' and to the great infamy and jeopardy of the ' realm, without that he be put from the said ' see, or else renounce his present title that he ' hath in the said see, &c. and to notify to him ' in the king's name, that if he would resign, the king would grant to him a competent pension; but that if he forced his majesty to send ambassadors to the pope, he ' would inflict on him the punishment imposed ' on him with the utmost rigour.'

56. Whether the bishop finding it not practicable to keep his bishoprick chose to resign, and to enjoy the benefit of the king's offer to allow him a competent pension, does not appear; but the bishop's being sent to a monastery, and there put under a very strict confinement to do penance for his offences, with only

\* He was prebendary of *Hoxton*, in *St Paul's* church.

*Le Neve's  
fasti.*

only an allowance of eleven or, as some say, forty pounds to the abbey, for fitting up his apartment, and providing him a maintenance, looks as if he persisted in his claim, and forced the king to send to *Rome* to get his bull of restitution revoked and cassated. However this be, *John Arundel*, M. D. was promoted to this see a few months after this, the temporalities being restored to him *March* 26, 1459.

THORNEY  
propter con-  
densitatem  
dumorum vo-  
cata. *W.*  
*Malm'sbury*,  
Lib. IV.

57. Our bishop being thus deprived of his bishoprick was sent to the abbey of *Thorney*, in the isle of *Thorney* in *Cambridgeshire*, with the following instructions from the archbishop of *Canterbury* to the abbot, how he should be there treated. *viz.* 1. That he have a secret closed chamber, with a chimney and an house of easement, and that he pass or go not out of the said chamber. 2. That he have but one person, that is serious and well-disposed, to make his bed and fire, as he shall have occasion; and that no one else speak to him without leave, and in the presence of the abbot, unless the king or archbishop send to the abbey any man with writing specially in that behalf. 3. That he have no books to look on, or to read in, but only a mass-book, a psalter, a legend and a bible. 4. That he have neither pen, ink, nor paper. 5. That he have competent fewel or firing according to his age. 6. That the first quarter after his coming into the abbey, he be contented to  
fare





soon put an end to the life of one of the bishop's advanced age; tho' very different accounts are given of his death.

59. Thus fell this great and learned prelate a sacrifice to the doctrine of the infallible authority of the church or clergy; a doctrine but newly invented to oppose the reasons and arguments of condemned hereticks, since heresy|| began to be punished with death; but however now esteemed the great bulwark of the church against the dissenters. For to so great a length was this authority now extended, as to make whatever was determined by it of equal importance with the articles of the christian faith; insomuch that whosoever impugned any of these determinations, or even supposed them fallible or mistaken, was reckoned as much an heretick, as if he had opposed any necessary article of faith. Thus we see a part of our bishop's crime was, that he affirmed it was not necessary to salvation, to believe that *Christ descended into hell*, or to believe in the holy catholic church, or that these additions, made by the clergy to the common creed in the latter ages of the church, were

|| That the ancient doctors of the church never proceeded so far, as to desire the assistance of the civil magistrate to take away life, or shed blood for mere error, or what they condemned as heresy, has been attempted to be proved, *Origines Ecclesiasti.* Vol. VII. cap. 2. §. 4. particularly he observes, that St. *Chrysostom* declared, that if hereticks were to be put to death, there would be nothing but eternal war in the world. An observation which the event has sufficiently shewn to be too well grounded.

of the same importance with the other articles of it which were from the beginning. Our bishop was one, who had obtained a very great reputation for his uncommon eloquence, and singular learning, particularly his study of the law of nature and of nations. Both these are evident not only in what we have left of his writings, which, if put into modern *English*, would appear to the meanest capacity both rational and elegant, but also from many other plain and manifest indications. His lordship had read the works of the fathers with no small care and diligence, and, as it should seem from what he says upon the article of *Christ's* descent into hell, had made critical observations on them, far beyond the genius and vulgar learning of that age. He was acquainted with the genuine epistles of *Ignatius*, and in the first part of his treatise of faith citeth the *acts of his martyrdom*, written by his cotemporary *Philo*, and published in the last age by the learned archbishop *Usher*. Our bishop likewise well understood the school-divinity, and the philosophy then in vogue, and was perfectly skilled in the subtilties and niceties of those sciences. Of these, as has been already observed, the first part of his *treatise of faith* is full, and upon that account very obscure; so that his demand of the archbishop was not unreasonable, that such might examine his books, as had studied the school-divinity and philosophy, as he had done.

*Wharton's*  
preface, &c.  
P. 25.

Treatise of  
Faith, p. 41.

See B. Pearson on the  
creed.  
Critical history of the  
apostles creed.

60. As to the particular articles which our bishop was forced to retract and abjure, it has been observed, that they were taught and believed by the greatest divines of the church at that time; which shews that our bishop knew the doctrine of the church far better than his judges, and altho' he was condemned by them, as guilty of the great and detestable crimes of heresy, blasphemy, and holding detestable doctrines, was yet no less orthodox than they. The *first* article was indeed otherwise taught by the subtle doctor *Scotus*, who, as the bishop himself tells us, said that this article, *Christ in his death of bodie descended into hell*, is an article of necessary faith; in which conceit the bishop very truly observes, the doctor was beguiled. For this reflection his lordship gave this reason, that in *St. Austin's* time, above three hundred years after the apostles time, the common creed had not in it this article. The same, we have seen, was owned by the archbishop to be true of the *Nicene* and *Athanasian* creeds, that they had neither of them these words.

61. Of the *second* article, that *it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the Holy-Ghost*, I do not find the least hint in any of the bishop's writings which are left. But it seems not unreasonable to suppose, that they, who through ignorance or zeal concluded, that because in the common creed we profess to believe *in* the Holy-Ghost, therefore we  
are

are obliged to believe *in* the holy catholick church, and *in* the communion of saints, condemned the bishop as holding it not necessary to believe in the Holy-Ghost, because he affirmed that there was no necessity of believing *in* the holy catholick church.

62. The *third* article or conclusion, that it is not necessary to salvation to believe *in*, or, as the bishop himself expressed it, *to* the catholick or universal church, was generally maintained by others who were reputed orthodox. St. *Augustine*, as he is quoted by bishop *Bonner*, observed, *quod ecclesiam credere, non tamen in ecclesiam credere debemus quia ecclesia non DEUS, sed domus DEI est.* Accordingly, the bishop himself thus explains this article of the creed; *this manner of belief, that is to saye I beleve in, we ought to have onelye in GOD, and not in any other creature of GOD els, be it never so excellent; and therefore in the crede, that said maner of speaking (I beleve in) is used only in the three articles which concerne the three persons in trinitie. —Concernynge the catholike church we must beleve it, geue credit to it, but not beleve in it, for to beleve in it were to make it GOD.*

To the same purpose *Erasmus* intimates, that he dreaded to say, *I beleve in the holy church;* because St. *Cyprian* had taught him, that we ought to believe in GOD only, in whom we absolutely place all our confidence. But as to the church, properly so called, altho' it consists

A profitable  
and necessary  
doctrine, &c.  
1555.

Inquisitio de  
fide inter col-  
loquia.



sifts of the faithful only; yet they are men who may of good become evil ones, who may be deceived themselves, and deceive others. The anonymous writer of the *pilgrimage to perfection*, printed by *de Worde* 1531, tells us, that pope *Leo\**, and *Alexander de Hales* observed, it should not be said in this article, *I believe into*, but rather thus, *I beleve the holy chirche*

“ \* Pope *Leo* saith, and *Alexander de Ales* reciteth the same, it should not be said in this article, *I beleve into the holy chirche catholicall*, but rather thus, *I beleve the holy chirche catholicall*; for the first maner of speaking (as St. *Cyprian* sayth) is appropriate to GOD. For whan I say, I beleve into GOD the Father, the Sone, and the Holy Goost, in such maner of speaking or thinking, I knowlege by faith these three persons to be my GOD and my maker, my begynning and my end, my glory and blisse; for whom and to whom I order, or at least should order all my life, all my study and love. And although S. *Anselme* and other doctors expoundeth this article otherwise; yet I suppose this manner of exposition, as is abovesaid, to be *most common* among holy doctors of the church.” It does not appear, who was the author of this treatise, nor when he lived. But by the following expressions in the prologue [“ *after my entrance to religion*—Whatsoever secret doctrine of perfection you take or learn of this poor treatise, that ye have not heard nor known before in reading other workes, ye never by way of curiositie be busy to attempt any person therein, nor to ask any question thereof, and *espiecially of seculars*, be they never so well learned; except in case wherein you understand not that ye read therein, then with meeknes for your learning ask your doubt of them only, whom ye suppose to be perfect and ghostly.”] he seems to have been one of the religious, as they were called, and very probably a *Carthusian*. However he tells the *English* reader, that “ he begun after his poor manner to write in *Latin*, but his charitie prevailed and letted him. For anone as he had set the pen to the book, it was put into his mind to draw it in the *English* tongue.”

*chirche catholicall*; and, that altho' St. *Anselm* and other doctors expound this article otherwise, yet he supposed this manner of exposition to be most *common* among holy doctors of the church. Even the *Trent*† catechism instructs us, that we profess not to believe *in* the holy church, but only that there is a holy church. The bishop indeed thus explained his meaning; that it is not necessary to salvation to believe, that the holy universal church faith and teacheth truth; or, that it is not thus necessary to believe, as the church believes. For he laid down this as a maxim, that 'the† sayings of the saints or holy fathers are not of so great authority, but that it is lawful to be of another mind in those things, which are not determined by the holy scripture.' And this was the opinion of *Aquinas*, that 'the authorities of holy scripture concluded *necessarily*, but the authorities of the doctors of

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† Nunc autem, mutata dicendi forma, *sanctam*, et non *in sanctam ecclesiam* credere profiteamur. Pars II. Sect. 23 Notwithstanding the disguised author of the *essay for catholick communion*, printed here about 1704, thus represents this article of the creed. "This article of our christian faith, says he, *I believe in the holy catholick church*, shews, that we should be always in readiness to submit ourselves to the judgment of the catholick church." But in the *Æthiopick* version of the *Nicene* creed, inserted in that liturgy as it is published by *Nisselius* and *Petræus*, is this article thus read; *And we believe in one holy house of Christians, which is on the universal congregation apostolical*.

† Dicta sanctorum non sunt tantæ auctoritatis, quin liceat sentire contrarium in his, quæ non sunt per sacram scripturam determinata.

Book of faith.

the church only *probably*. 'Astowhat our bishop observes: || *We ben taught*, says he, *for to beleve one holy universal chirche, or, that one holi universal chirche is; and what foloweth therof, viz. the communion of seintis: even as by like tenour of wordis we are taught one baptisim to be, forgivenes of sins to be, everlastyng lyfe to be; and not bi those articles for to beleve to one baptisim, and for to bileve to forgivenes of sins, and for to bileve to everlasting lyfe.* But it appears by the acts against the *Lollards* in the diocese of *Ely*, that it was an usual interrogatory put by the ecclesiastical judges at this time to those, whom they suspected of *Lolardy*, *An in ecclesiam credis?* dost thou believe in the church? The *fourth* article, that it is not necessary to believe to or in the communion of *saintis*, its plain our bishop asserted in the same sense. The *fifth* and *sixth* conclusions are said to have been maintained by *Occam*, *Peter de Alliaco*, cardinal of *Cambray*, *Thomas Walden*, *Panormitan*, *Antonius*, cardinal *Cusanus*, *Clemangis*, and many others in that age. Nay, that it was generally owned, however in words, that *holi writ is chiefer and of more authoriti or power than the chirche*, our bishop himself sheweth by this reason; that *whatsoever any council of clergie, or ani clergie without gathering into council teachith as feith, even the clergie referreth their so made teaching*

*Wharton* pref.  
to the bishop's  
treatise of  
faith.

Book of faith,  
Part II.

teaching of feith into holy scripture; therefore, saith he, needs the holy scripture is more wor-  
 thi ground of our feith, than is the clergie of  
 the whole chirche on erthe. As to our bishop's  
 being charged with holding, that the univer-  
 sal chirche may err in those thingis which are  
 of feith, it seems not to be very fair usage.  
 The bishop, so far as appears by his writings  
 yet remaining, never formally asserts, that the  
 chirche may erre (much lesse that it has errid)  
 in matters of feith. Only for argument sake,  
 and in hopes the more easly to reduce the  
 dissenting *Wiclifists*, he was willing to go upon  
 that supposition that the chirche may erre,  
 &c. in his dispute with them; being confi-  
 dent, that notwithstanding this concession,  
 he should be able well enough to cope with  
 them, and to beat them at their own wea-  
 pons; and this, because they never had, and  
 never could prove, that the chirche had actu-  
 ally errid in matter of feith. Thus his lord-  
 ship argued: *If it so be that the chirche errith*  
*in the maters into whiche he is so bish for to*  
*knowe arigt, and that bi manye yeeris, and bi*  
*manye hilpis of persoonys, and bi meenys leding*  
*into kunnyng aboue al that laymen mowe streeche*  
*to; the chirche muste nedis be excusid of GOD:*  
*For whi, the chirche dooth al that he can do*  
*therynne, and al that he may do therynne. For*  
*whi, he seeth not, neither can se, where and how*  
*he schulde seeke ferther or better for to come in-*  
*to the trew kunnyng, than he now seeth, and wil-*  
*lingli*



*lingli he takith not to him eny lette, whiche he knoweth to forbarre the wey into sufficientli to be hadde trewe kunnyng. From hence he concluded, that we ought to believe and stand to some teacher, who may faile or be deceived or mistaken, so long as it is not known, that he is mistaken; and, that all the ancient hereticks, as well as the modern *Wiclifists*, are to be condemned on this account, that (to use the bishop's own words) *noon of hem couthe prove, that his opinioun, for whiche he agenstode his prelatiſ, was trewe.**

63. By what has been said, it appears, that our bishop was very severely used in being condemned as an heretick. Since besides, that some of the conclusions, pretended to be extracted from his writings, were really none of his, or never maintained by him; they were most of them asserted by many eminent doctors, who never were censured by the church as erroneous; and some of them so far true, that no learned man of even the church of *Rome* will at this day deny them. But to such a height was the authority of the church, or *Romish* clergy, carried at this time, being asserted to be the chief and principal ground of saving necessary faith; and this was reckoned of so much use to stop the mouths of the poor dissenting *Lollards*, especially when backed with the last reason of kings, fire and sword and hanging, that the least appearance of either questioning, or denying it, was punished

as criminal by the then ruling clergy with the utmost severity. We need not therefore wonder at our bishop's incurring their displeasure. By the cavilling exceptions which were taken at his preaching, almost as soon as he was promoted to the episcopacy, it is plain, that he had a great many enemies among the clergy, who were glad of any handle to expose him. Of this the bishop seem'd very sensible by his being so cautious in expressing himself, and guarding against misrepresentation. Thus in his *Repressour*, speaking of the *donation of Constantine*, as a proof of the fiction of it, he observes, that many hundred years after the death of pope *Silvester*, to whom this grant of *Constantine's* is supposed to have been made, the election of the pope made at *Rome*, was sent to *Constantinople* to be confirmed or admitted of the emperor. But knowing this to be a tender point, and that advantage might be taken against him for writing thus, he adds: *This I say not for this, that it so done was well done.* So in his *Treatise of Faith*, its observable, that he is so cautious, as never formally to assert that the church may err, much less that it *hath* actually erred. But his supposing, though but for argument's sake, that the church might err, and affirming that the authority of the church or clergy, the chief part of it, was not sufficient to make necessary articles of faith, or such articles as are of necessity to eternal salvation; this incensed

Critical history of the apostles creed.

cented them and set them against him. His lordship's denying that it was necessary to salvation to believe that our lord *Jesus Christ*, after he died, descended into hell, because long after the apostles time this part of the article was not in the common creed, but placed there by the clergy since, seemed plainly to shew that it was the bishop's opinion, that the clergy either in council or out of it have no power to make articles of faith, which are necessary to be believed for christian mens salvation. That they had such an authority was, it seems, what the bishop's adversaries had a mind the people should believe, as serving to magnify the sacerdotal powers, and exalt the mystical and hierurgical rights of the priesthood, and causing their determinations to be quietly submitted to without examination. Accordingly they chose to make an example of his lordship, (who had been so unhappy as always to be thought ill of by them, notwithstanding his unwearied labours in defence of the established church) to terrify others of inferior rank, and make *them* beware how they attempted to deny, or even to suppose, that the church or clergy hath not of itself principally, groundly, and fundamentally all the faith, which is contained in holy writ.

64. By the archbishop's mandate for enquiring after our bishop's books in the several dioceses of his province it is intimated, that the

the reason of his grace's calling them in was, because they were composed in *English*, and contained translations of the holy scripture from *Latin* into *English*, contrary to the ecclesiastical prohibitions, and the decrees of the holy fathers. By which I have before shewn to be meant the constitution of archbishop *Arundel* against the translation of the scriptures, and publishing little books and tracts in the *English* tongue. It is added, that these books contained heresies, errors, and things sounding ill against the determination of holy mother church, and contrary to the orthodox faith. So that our bishop seems to have been prosecuted on this constitution, which, as has been already observed, was intended as a net to catch whomsoever the ruling clergy did not like.

65. Father *Parsons* charges our bishop with *denying expressly three articles of the creed*, and archdeacon *Harpsfield* accuses his lordship of *taking away four articles from the holy creed*; the falseness of both which disagreeing testimonies is very obvious, by what has been already said. The former of these writers accuses Mr. *Fox* in very coarse language of *great impudence and folly*, for intimating that our bishop *repented him afterward of his recantation*. But its very plain, that his lordship's abjuration was the effect of force, and not of choice; and so it seems to have been then understood by the bishop's adversaries. Otherwise

Third part of  
a treatise, &c.  
p. 266.  
Hist. Wickl.  
p. 719.



Certificatio  
super man-  
dato regio,  
&c. MS. e  
collec. epif.  
Petroburg.

wife they would not very probably have been so zealous for his deprivation, as to assert, that *it would be to the great jeopardy of the realm, if he was not put from his see.* But thus do the delegates, commissioned by the king to advise him in this matter, represent our bishop almost a year after his abjuration. ‘Foras-  
‘much as the damnable doctrine and pesti-  
‘ferent sect of *Reginolde Pecock* exceedeth in  
‘malice and horribility all other heresies, and  
‘sects of hereticks, to us here before known  
‘by hearing or writing, in the which the said  
‘*Reginolde* destroyeth not only the power and  
‘jurisdiction of *regalia* and *priesthood*, and so  
‘subverteth all order and direction of the law  
‘positive and politick governance among  
‘christian people, as well in spirituality as tem-  
‘porality; but also despiseth and annulleth  
‘the authority of all holy scripture, as well of  
‘the *old testament*, as the *new*, impugning  
‘the principles and ground of the religion and  
‘doctrine of our lord *Jesus Christ*, to whom,  
‘among other blasphemies and detestable he-  
‘resies, he ascribeth ignorance and imper-  
‘fection, and namely in making the holy  
‘prayer of the *pater-noster*: and over that  
‘of his arrogant presumption reproveth the  
‘doctrine of *Moses*, and other prophets of  
‘GOD, and also of the apostles, evangelists,  
‘and disciples of *Christ*, contemning also the  
‘decrees and ordinances of general councils,  
‘with the edicts and holy expositions of holy  
‘doctors,

‘doctors and fathers of *Christ’s* church, as  
 ‘well upon the *ten commandments*, comprised  
 ‘in the two tables of *Moses*, and the *twelve*  
 ‘*articles of the faith*, and *seven sacraments* of  
 ‘the church: and to speak summarily, he  
 ‘intendeth by his blasphemous and detestable  
 ‘doctrine utterly to destroy the honour and  
 ‘name of *Christ*, and to confound finally the  
 ‘authority and state of christian religion.’  
 This shews, that in these deputies opinion  
 our bishop was so far from having changed his  
 mind by his abjuration, to which he was com-  
 pelled by the archbishop, as rather to wax  
 worse and worse. Any one must observe, that  
 the accusation here brought against the bishop  
 is much more heinous and criminal, than the  
 conclusions for which he was convened before  
 the archbishop, and sentenced by him to lose  
 his bishoprick, &c. But how much stretched  
 and overloaded it is, will be seen in the next  
 chapter.

66. A late ecclesiastical historian very *Collier’s ec.*  
 rashly, and without any authority, pronounces *hist. vol. I.*  
 on our bishop, that *he seems to have been a per-* *P. 675. col.*  
*son of a floating desultory humour, and un-*  
*settled in his judgment to that degree, as some-*  
*times to preach and write counter to himself,*  
*and contradict his former opinions.* For proof  
 of this he tells us, that ‘about *two* years after  
 ‘his maintaining the *seven* propositions in de-  
 ‘fence of the bishops, mentioned before, he  
 ‘*declaimed against* the bishops (whom he had  
 ‘before

‘ before *defended*) in the pulpit, in very warm  
 ‘ intemperate expressions; and notwithstanding  
 ‘ he had lately discharged them from the ex-  
 ‘ *ercises of the pulpit*, he now reproaches them  
 ‘ for their *omissions* of this kind : is so hardy as  
 ‘ to affirm, that it was either their *ignorance* or  
 ‘ their *luxury*, that occasioned this negligence;  
 ‘ and that, if they *would* do any good in  
 ‘ preaching, they must recommend those good  
 ‘ qualities, they had not the honesty to be mas-  
 ‘ ters of.’

67. But this declamation this historian  
*made* for the bishop, against whose memory,  
 as a supposed heretick, he is very zealous;  
 and interest and inclination, he knew, have a  
 strange power in deceiving us. The good  
 man, its plain, has quite mistaken his own  
 author, and blunders in reading, or however  
 in representing what he writes. *Anthony a*  
*Wood*, whom the learned historian quotes,  
 relates from *Gascoigne*, that they were the  
*common people*, who with so much vehemence,  
 passion, and ill language, in the open streets  
 reproached the bishops with laziness and ne-  
 glect of preaching, and insulted their charac-  
 ter on that score. *Wood* indeed represents it,  
 as if this rage of the populace against the bi-  
 shops was occasioned by our bishop’s sermons.  
 But *Gascoigne* tells us, that the sermons of  
 the bishop were no otherwise the occasion of  
 these affronts, which the prelates of that time  
 met with, than as they were in defence of their  
 lordships,

*Idem*, Essay  
 on the weak-  
 ness of human  
 reason.  
*Histo. Oxon.*  
 Vol. I. p. 222,  
 col. 1.

lordships, and to shew, that they were by their office exempted from *preaching*; the subject of them being in *Gascoigne's* own words, *de episcopis concionandi munere liberandis*. But was this otherwise, where is the probity of the historian, and his not daring to say any thing that is false, to transcribe or rather to frame a rude invective made by the mob in the streets, and call it a declamation of our bishop's in the pulpit? So far was his lordship from deserving the character of a person *unsettled in his judgment*, that, if we may judge of him by those few of his writings, which are preserved out of the common destruction of them, he was very consistent with himself. It was indeed his unhappiness to live in such troubled and disordered times, and to have such for his judges, who, it appears, were not only very partial, but really ignorant of what they ought to have known. This was intimated by our bishop, when he desired his writings might be examined by those, who were well skilled in the questions debated in them. His lordship's resolution indeed failed him at last, he had not courage and constancy enough to resist unto blood. But, as father *Paul* used to say, every one has not the spirit of *Martin Luther*. This behaviour of our bishop therefore does not shew, that he was of a floating desultory humour, or of an unsteady and inconstant temper; but only, that when perhaps he thought

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he stood, he was not resolute enough not to fall.

69. Our bishop being thus deprived of his bishoprick\*, the archbishop thought it proper to encourage such, as he thought fit for such an undertaking, to write answers to the bishop's books, or however to the principal of them. Among these was *John Bury*, who styles himself a poor son and provincial friar of the order of the friar *Heremites* of St. *Austin*, of which the archbishop was the most benigne conservator. He was commanded by his grace to answer the bishop's book called the *Repressour*, &c. of which I have before given so large and particular an account. This answer he proposed to divide into two parts, or books: the first of which, to use his own words, *quandam disputationis formam induens mores eos, quibus deo vivitur, e scripturarum sanctarum visceribus ostendet exortos*; should

\* Quum nuper ille *Reginaldus Pecocke Cicestrencis*——  
—Respon. *Bury*, MS. in biblio. Bodlei. B. 1. 1960. 18. being sixteen sheets of vellum in Quarto, ill written with abbreviations. *Bury* in his dedication of this his first book to the archbishop, styles the bishop *nesandus ille Reginaldus*: and says of him, that he brought the archbishop and the church into fresh danger, *vobis ovilique vestro nova discrimina intulisse visus est*: that *exacuit calamos, libellos pinxit, grandia etiam tonavit in celum usque*; but that at length he is justly allotted a place among the inhabitants of wretched *Babylon*. As to the bishop's book called the *Repressour*, &c. he gives this character of it, that there are in it several heresies, and the footsteps of many errors; that he prefers the dictates of human reason in the direction of our manners to those of the holy scripture, and blasphemes the sacraments, corrupts the divine commands, shews a contempt of gifts, and confounds the articles of our belief.

should shew, that those morals, by which we live to GOD, do spring from the bowels of the holy scriptures. The *second* was to discuss the several books of the *Repressor*, and to shew, that whatever is there said in the behalf of drowsy reason, is nothing to the purpose. The *first* part being finished, he dedicated it to the archbishop, assuring his grace that the *second* should follow with GOD's leave; but whether it ever did so, I do not know.

70. In this *first* book *Bury* tells the archbishop, he had given sentence in the suit or cause by the sword of *Solomon*, which is the word of *GOD*; and observes, that the mutters in behalf of the bishop do almost every where blame our divines and jurists, that they so perversly expound or interpret, what in the bishop's own words is very rightly expressed. Being therefore, he says, made more cautious by this instance, he had not translated the bishop's writings word for word, but had mixed *his* English as he writ it himself, with his own *Latin*; so, he says, he has answered an imprudent man according to his folly, lest Prov. xxvi. 5. he should be wise in his own conceit; and yet he has not studied to answer him in the mother tongue, which *he* uses, lest he should be thought like unto him. Prov. xxvi. 4.

71. *Bury* takes notice of *thirteen* conclusions of our bishop's, which he first sets down

T 2

in

in *English*, and then answers in *Latin*. The first of these he thus represents.

MS. p. 3. a.  
cap. 1.

72. ' The *ferste* conclusion of *Reynold Pe-*  
' *cokke*, in hys book mamyd the *Repressor*, la-  
' boryng effectually agens the libertie of holy  
' scripture ys this. It longyth not to holy  
' scripture, nethir it is parte, for to grounde  
' ony governance, or dede, or servyse of GOD,  
' or ony lawe of GOD, or ony trouthe, whiche  
' manys resoon be nature may fynde, lerne, or  
' knowe. Thys conclusion he provith thus :  
' Every fundament shewet suffyciently by the  
' self for that thing, to whom it is fundament :  
' but holy scripture only shewet not thus for  
' swich laws, vertues, and governanees, wych  
' mannys resoon may fynde : wherefore holy  
' scripture is not to swich a sufficient funda-  
' ment. Example of this: My place ys foun-  
' ded here, and not in anothir place ; for if it  
' were in anothir, it scode and shulde not be  
' here. And in lyke maneere if this trouthe  
' and governaunce, that eche man schuld kepe  
' meeknesse, were knowe be fume othir thyng  
' than be scripture, and as weel and as suffy-  
' ciently as be scripture, thilke governance or  
' vertue were not grounded yn holy scripture.  
' Also thus: Ther may nothyng be fundament  
' of a wall, or of a tre, or of an house, saf  
' that upon wych all the hool substance of  
' the wal, of the tre, or of the house ston-  
' deth; and ought of whiche oonly the wal,  
' house, or tre cometh. Wherefore be lyke  
' skele

'skele no thing is ground or fundament to ony  
 'vertue or conclusyon, governance or trouthe,  
 'saf that upon which alon all the governance,  
 'trouthe, or dede stondith and ought, of which  
 'alon all the same trouthe and governance  
 'cometh. And that deom of resooun doth so,  
 'I prove thus: Whatevere thing deom of  
 'resooun dooth as fully and as parfithly, as holy  
 'scripture it dooth, holy scripture it doth not  
 'alone. But so it is, that whatsoevere lernyng  
 'holy scripture yeveth up ony of the seid go-  
 'vernances, troothis, and vertues of Godys  
 'lawe, into whos fyndyng, lernyng, and ken-  
 'nyng mannys resooun may come; mannys re-  
 'sooun may and kan yeve the same kennyng,  
 'as experience shewet; wherefore holy scrip-  
 'ture is not ground to hem.'

73. To this *Bury* frames his answer in  
*Latin*, which he thus introduces. 'Since the  
 'late *Reynold Pecokke* of *Chichester*, snatching  
 'the direction and governance of men's man-  
 'ners from the scriptures, has ascribed them  
 'to the judgment of human reason, and  
 'brought in his *Repressor* thirteen conclusi-  
 'ons for the proof of this error; we, GOD  
 'being our guide, and being supported by ca-  
 'tholick verity, shall dispute against him in  
 'an equal number of conclusions. Against  
 'his first conclusion this our first conclusion  
 'is determined. It belongs to holy scripture,  
 'and is a special office deputed to it of GOD,  
 'to ground the five governances, acts, laws,  
 'verities,



' verities, and divine obediences, even those,  
 ' which man's reason can naturally and of it-  
 ' self find out and teach.' This he attempts  
 ' to prove thus: ' It is the proper office of  
 ' that science to found every governance and  
 ' act directing to the obedience of GOD,  
 ' which is sufficiently ordained of GOD to  
 ' this purpose, and has received from him a  
 ' name. As grammar grounds all the con-  
 ' gruity, which contains the doctrine of all  
 ' congruity, and has its name from it: as  
 ' holy scripture, which is called theology, is  
 ' sufficiently ordained for the direction of go-  
 ' vernances, and all the actions of men, and  
 ' takes its name from thence: therefore the  
 ' ground or foundation of acts, governances, or  
 ' regimens of this kind, altho' they may be  
 ' found out otherwise by natural reason, is the  
 ' proper special office of holy scripture itself,  
 ' and primarily deputed to it. For theology  
 ' is so called, because it is a speech or discourse  
 ' of GOD, and that in it the morals of men  
 ' are sufficiently taught, is plain from hence,  
 ' that in *Ecclesiastes* xii. Solomon said†, *The*  
 ' *words of the wise are as goads, and as nails*  
 ' *fastened by the masters of assemblies, which*  
 ' *are given from one shepherd; my son require*  
 ' *no more than these.* For if they are the  
 ' words of very wise men, which are given  
 ' from

Monitus esto,  
 i. e. ab alijs  
 cave.

† Verba sapientum sicut stimuli, et quasi clavi in altum  
 defixi, quæ per magistrorum concilium data sunt a pastore u-  
 no; his amplius, fili mi, ne requiras. *Ecclesiast.* xx.

‘from one shepherd; concerning whom *Paul*  
‘says, *GOD, who at sundry times, and in di-*  
‘*vers manners, spake in time past unto the fa-*  
‘*thers by the prophets, hath in these last days*  
‘*spoken unto us by his son*; we are to seek no  
‘farther. Therefore these words of the wise  
‘given by the pastor himself, are ordered suf-  
‘ficiently for the direction of men, or being  
‘ordained for the direction of men are suffi-  
‘cient.’ To the bishop’s argument from the  
nature of a foundation, *Bury* answers, that,  
‘the minor is false; for that holy scripture of  
‘itself sufficiently shews the nature of every  
‘governance, verity and vertue directing  
‘men unto *GOD*.’ As to the bishop’s exam-  
ple of a house, that is founded here, because  
‘it cannot be founded elsewhere, &c. *Bury*  
answers, 1. That it is incongruously chosen,  
and 2. that it is frivolously and vainly applied;  
since we are to discourse much otherwise, or  
very differently of houses, and of the founda-  
tion of sciences. The foundation of sciences  
is a foundation of reason, but a foundation of  
a thing or place is another thing. One corpo-  
real thing can no wise be founded in diverse  
places; but a thing of consideration and rea-  
son has a respect to one and another founda-  
tion, as often as it admits an alteration about  
the different modes of science. This, says  
he, is evident, if we consider the bounds of  
natural science, and of astrology, or astrono-  
my. Astronomy measures the course of the

stars very accurately, which navigation measures more rudely and ignobly ; and yet the motion, face, and aspect of the stars have reference to both. As navigation and astronomy treat of the motions of the stars, so the holy scripture and humane moral philosophy treat of humility and the other virtues. He further observes, that the bishop describes reason to be that very thing, which the law of nature is. And that so reason does not mean that force or power, which is opposed to irrational ; but is the law of nature itself, or an inclination towards natural good, consequent on the formation of man. That reason in this sense has a twofold meaning. For the law itself of human nature, is properly the inclination itself of the same nature derived from the eternal law, according to whose likeness the first man was created, or according to which men are renewed by repentance. And this law of nature, or natural reason, is in those only, who love and fear GOD. For of every vicious man the Psalmist says, *Man, when he is in honour, does not understand; but is compared to foolish beasts, and made like them.* And *Ecclesiast. xii. Fear GOD, and keep his commandments ; this is every man,* i. e. for this was every man first created. Otherwise the law of nature, or natural reason, is wont to be called the inclination itself of human nature towards what is good, generally consequent to the nature of man, after it became obnoxious

Psa. xlviii.  
accord. to the  
vulgate.

Hoc est omnis homo.

ous to sin. Reason according to the first mode is always concomitant to that moral philosophy which the scriptures revealed by GOD's command: according to the second, produces a sort of moral philosophy, which is weakly founded on ignorance itself or nature; whereas the other philosophy has an invariable certainty from its foundation in the holy scripture revealed by GOD. To shew further how vain the application is of an example of the foundation of an house in one place, to the foundation of moral governances in reason only, he observes, that this may be manifested from these three considerations.

1. That the similitude or comparison of the foundation of houses and sciences is not general, nor does the adversary conclude any thing by that example; only he endeavours to deceive simple and illiterate men, who don't know the difference betwixt the foundation of sciences, and the foundation of houses. 2.

That by a special prerogative it is granted to holy scripture, that as the spiritual man judges all things, and is judged of no body; so also does it examine the causes and principles of all morals revealed by GOD, which are to be found out without human industry. 3. Because holy scripture can operate on that which is more, as on the foundation of infused virtues; and therefore can operate also on what is less, namely on the foundation of acquired ones. To explain this, he produces the following



Locus partialis, & locus totalis.

lowing example. ‡He supposes, that a piece of a place, and a whole place, are not not two places. For example: The city of *Damascus*, and its street called *Strait*, are certainly not two places; and therefore the house therein, in which *Paul* dwelt, was so founded in the street, that since the street was in the city, of necessary consequence was the said house founded in the city of *Damascus*. I suppose moreover, says he, that holy scripture contains a threefold law, to wit, of nature, the synagogue, and of the church. The law of nature it contains from its beginning to *Exodus*, the law of the synagogue, it contains from *Exodus* to the gospel, and the law of the church contains the doctrine of *Christ* and his apostles. These things being supposed, it may be thus argued: As a house built in a street is to the street and the city, so are traditions and moral doctrines, which are founded in the law of nature, to the same law of nature and to the holy scripture, to which the said law of nature is the chief part; but a house founded in the street of a city is likewise founded in the city itself; therefore traditions and moral doctrines founded in the law of nature are also founded in holy scripture: which we grant, understanding that to be founded

‡ Suppono, quod locus partialis et locus totalis non sunt duo loca. Exemplum. Civitas *Damascenorum*, et vicus ejus qui vocatur rectus omnino sunt duo loca. So my transcript of the MS. is, but I suppose it should be *non omnino sunt duo loca*, &c.

founded in some part of a thing, which has a foundation in the whole.

74. This I suppose sufficient to give the reader a taste of the manner of *Bury's* answering the bishop's book. As to the remainder of this *first part* of it, it is employed in maintaining the twelve remaining conclusions in opposition to the bishop, *viz.*

2. Altho' holy scripture founds moral governances, yet *humano more* natural reason can or may recite them.

3. It is the proper and special office of the holy scripture to render the moral of those, who travel on the stage of this world, deform.

4. It is not the office of the moral law of nature to ground any article of faith; and that the law of nature, and moral philosophy, are not the same,

5. Notwithstanding, articles of faith may be recited in the law of nature, and moral philosophy.

6. It is the office of catholick philosophy to express the truths founded in the law of nature, and certain truths of faith.

7. No part of the divine law of scripture wants a foundation.

8. A man may know the whole law of GOD, altho' he be ignorant of acquired moral philosophy.

9. A man may understand the holy scripture, where it treats of moral virtues, so far forth

forth as he is ignorant of acquired philosophy.

10. A man may serve G O D without acquired moral philosophy.

11. The illiterate are obliged to magnify or make much of the servants of G O D, by whom they have learned the most certain laws of living.

12. Illiterate men should highly detest the books of *Reginald*, meaning our bishop.

13. That it is not unreasonably asked or inquired, where all the doctrine of morals is founded in scripture.

75. Such were the conclusions which *Bury* laboured to maintain, in express contradiction to the bishop, as was pretended by him; of the truth of which the reader is left to judge, who has before had an account of what it was the bishop asserted in behalf of the established church, in vindication of which his lordship wrote. But however zealous *Bury* was in opposing the bishop, it does not appear to me, that the conclusions he finds fault with, were either condemned by the archbishop, or retracted and abjured by the bishop.

## C H A P. V.

*Of the Bishop's Opinions.*

1. **T**HESE I have occasionally given some account of before, in what I have said of his books and writings yet remaining. But because the enemies of his person and memory have represented them as so very wicked and dangerous, I think it not improper to give the reader a view of them together. This I shall do from his book of *Faith*, from which the conclusions, which the bishop was forced to abjure, seem to have been taken.

2. In the *first* place therefore, our bishop affirmed, that 'holy writ is such a ground and foundation of our christian general faith, that there is no greater, or better, or surer ground, or foundation to us for our christian general faith; and that this writing, containing our all whole faith, is precious, and ought not to be set little by, neither be faintly and unworthily received.' By *holy writ* he declared he meant the writing of the old testament and the new, in which he did not include the stories of *Tobie*, and *Susannah*, and the additions to *Daniel*; all which he stiled *Apocryphas*.

Treatise of  
faith, p. 6.  
P. 16.  
P. 15.  
P. 23.



*phas.* He likewise rejected *as a feigned thing, and worthy to be laid aside*, the tradition that *Esdras* by inspiration wrote, without any copy, all the five books of *Moses*, and all the other books of history and of prophecies to his days.

P. 27.

1 Tim. iii. 2,  
12.

3. He likewise observed, that 'the scripture of the new testament, is not through each part of it like in authority, in worthiness, and dignity. For why? some parts of scripture teach us faith, and some teach us the law of nature, and of natural reason, as the text itself sheweth, and *Austin* witnesseth. Some parts of the scripture teach us positive ordinances of Christ, as are the sacraments; and some parts thereof teach us ordinances of some apostle, as the law of bigamy, or St. *Paul's* ordaining, that a *bigam* should not be a deacon or priest, and that a woman\* vowe not chastity before the sixtieth year of her age.' Which positive ordinances of the apostle's, the bishop said, the clergy and pope that now is may dispense with; because 'the pope is of like authority and jurisdiction with each, or with the greatest of the apostles. Yet hereof followeth  
' not,

|| One who has been twice married, or has been married to one widow. *Duaren.* de sac. benef. lib. iv. c. 8. ll. pontificiarum, *Gregorii IX.* pentateuchus. *Mesnartii* lib. i. tit. 20.

\* So the bishop represents the apostle's words, 1 Tim. v. 9. *Let not a widow be chosen into the number under threescore years old*: which the bishop thus expresses, *Poul ordeynyd a widowe to not take perpetual widewite undir boond err sche be of sixty winter, and but if sche hadde be wyf of oon man.*

‘not, he said, the clergy now living, or the  
 ‘pope now living, may *dispense* with this, that  
 ‘scripture teacheth as the *positive ordinance* of  
 ‘Christ, or, that he may *revoke* any of those  
 ‘ordinances. For why? so *revoke*, or *dispense*  
 ‘might none of the apostles.’ So that it was  
 with some distinction and qualification, that  
 the bishop allowed holy scripture to be the  
 primary or only rule of faith and manners.  
 For elsewhere his lordship, to use his own  
 words, ‘rebukes and adauntes the presump-  
 ‘cioun of tho ley persoones, which weenen bi  
 ‘her reding in the bible for to come into more  
 ‘kunnyng, than thei or alle the men in erthe,  
 ‘clerkis, and others, mowe come to bi the bi-  
 ‘ble oonli, withoute moral philosophie and  
 ‘lawe of kinde or nature.’

Repressour,  
 &c. P. I. c. 7.  
 MS.

4. Our bishop was very earnest in exhorting and persuading the people to study the scriptures, to read them, to meditate on them, and to be constant in the use of them; and advised that they who cannot read themselves, should hear others read and explain them; meaning the scriptures in the *Latin* vulgate. Accordingly he observed, that ‘each  
 ‘thrifty and well-spiced studente in divinity  
 ‘has power to declare and expound holy scrip-  
 ‘ture; yea and ech good grammarian hath  
 ‘power to construe scripture,’ or to turn it into *English*. ‘That very often scripture ex-  
 ‘poundeth itself, inasmuch as by the reading  
 ‘of scripture in one part a man shall learn,  
 ‘which

Poor man's  
 looking-glass,  
 MS. apud  
*Usserium* de S.  
 scriptur. Ver-  
 nacul.

Treatise of  
 faith. p. 28,  
 29.

P. 14-

Repressour,  
&c. part I.  
c. 7. MS.

Treatise of  
faith, p. 2.

‘ which is the true understanding of scripture  
‘ in all other parts, wherein he doubted, or was  
‘ ignorant before. Certain, says he, it may  
‘ be, that one simple person, as in fame, or in  
‘ state, is wiser for to know, judge, and declare,  
‘ what is the true sense of a certain portion of  
‘ scripture, and what is the truth of some ar-  
‘ ticle, and that for his long studying, labour-  
‘ ing and advising thereupon than is a great  
‘ general council.’ So again: ‘ The writing  
‘ made and found by GOD, and by the apo-  
‘ stles,——may ground sufficiently the same  
‘ faith in every clerk or lay-man notably rea-  
‘ soned for to understand what he readeth in  
‘ the new testament, though he learne not the  
‘ same faith by any general council, or any  
‘ multitude of clerks to be gathered together.’

Hence in another place he says, that ‘ he  
‘ does not understand it to be unlawful to lay-  
‘ men for to read in the bible, and for to stu-  
‘ dy and learn therein, with help and counsel  
‘ of wise and well learned clerks, and with li-  
‘ cence of their governour the bishop.’

5. The bishop further declared against a  
submission to unexamined decisions. ‘ It was,’  
faith he, ‘ a full shameful thing for the chris-  
‘ tian church to hold such a faith for substance  
‘ of its salvation, and yet not to dare to suffer  
‘ it to be examined, whether it is worthy to be  
‘ allowed for true faith or no ; it were imputing  
‘ a villany to *Christ*, that he should give such  
‘ a faith to his people, into which faith he  
‘ would

‘ would his people should turn all other people, and yet would not allow his faith to be at the full tried, and durst not be aknowe his faith to be so pure, and so fine from all falshood, that it might not by strength of evidence be overcome.—Lord almighty, says he, thou forbid that any such prisoning of thy faith be made in thy church.’

6. He disputed against *unwritten verities*, as they are termed, or oral traditions being the rule of saving faith. ‘The apostles,’ saith he, P. 13, ‘nor any other clerks, might or could have taught sufficiently the said faith without scripture; all the whole faith written in the gospel being too long a tale to be sufficiently learned without writing of it.’ For this purpose, his lordship observes, that ‘a tale or tiding, by the time that it hath run through four or five mens mouths, taketh patches and clouts, and is changed in diverse parts, and turned into lesyngs, and all for defaulte thereof the writing.’ And therefore his lordship concludes, that, ‘the apostles in- P. 40, 41, tended not to give any catholick faith, necessary to christian mens salvation by word only, to be kept without writing and remembrance. That they betoken not, out and P. 36, ‘besides holy scripture, any articles unwritten to be believed for necessary faiths.’

7. He observed, that the articles, that we P. 38, 39, should pray towards the east; bleſs ourselves with a cross; that priests should make three  
U crosses



crosses upon the bread and wine offered on the altar before consecration ; that the font of baptism shall be blessed with oil, and baptized persons anointed with it ; are every one of them governances, which took their beginning and ordinance, not of the apostles, but of the fathers only. That the same is to be judged or thought of holy water, which pope *Alexander II.* ordained of holy bread, of the most part of the observations or ceremonies in the mass, and of the fasting of *Lent*, and of many other such observations, which were all ordained by the holy fathers since the apostles, and were not to be kept and believed for necessary faiths.

8. He shewed, that *St. Basil* divided those things, which all christian men ought to hold and believe, into three parts : *viz.* Things delivered to us by apostolick ordinance, things delivered in holy scripture, and things or articles which are derived to us thro' devout use or custom of the generality of the people ; from whence, he said, it followed, that not such a fourth member is to be taken and kept of the people, *viz.* which the apostles left and delivered for substantial faith without writing.

9. His opinion of the authority of the church, or clergy, in matters of faith our bishop thus expressed. Faith, he observed, is taken in two senses ; ' *first*, to signify the knowledge, by which we know  
' the

' the true article ; *secondly*, the same true ar-  
 ' ticle in it self known by faith. Or thus :  
 ' Faith is a knowing, wherein we consent in P. 33.  
 ' our understanding to a truth being above  
 ' our capacity to find and know, and there-  
 ' fore we know it by this, that GOD affirmed  
 ' it ; and it is the article or the truth in this  
 ' now said manner known. Now neither of  
 ' these two faiths,' his lordship said, ' may  
 ' the clergy, or the whole church, make new  
 ' at their own will : for why ? it is not in the  
 ' power of the clergy, or whole church, to  
 ' make such an article to be true or untrue ;  
 ' as it is not in the church's power to make  
 ' this to be true or untrue, *that Mary concei-*  
 ' *ved a child in her maiden-hood*, or this, *that*  
 ' *Christ was dead and rose again unto life*, and  
 ' so forth of other articles of faith in this said  
 ' manner and kind. And therefore he con-  
 ' cluded, all that the clergy or whole church  
 ' may do hereabout is *denouncing*, and *decla-*  
 ' *ring*, and *defining* to the simpler part of the  
 ' church what is faith in either of these now  
 ' said manners ; and that *this* is to be taken for  
 ' such said faith, and *this other* is to be taken  
 ' for such faith, and so forth of other like.  
 ' But all wise men may soon see, that far is this  
 ' from a power to *make* any thing to be such  
 ' said faith ; and that the church *maketh* not  
 ' a thing to be such faith, in this that it *de-*  
 ' *creeth*, *decerneth*, *judgeth*, *determineth*, *wit-*  
 ' *nesseth*, and *publisheth* a thing to be such a  
 U 2 ' faith.

P. 35.

'faith.' A little further the bishop shews,  
 'that whatever article the clergy, or the  
 'whole church, believeth as faith, and hath  
 'not upon the same article the process of evi-  
 'dence and proof, that GOD affirmed or re-  
 'vealed it, they in so believing are over-hasty,  
 'and presume further than they should.'

P. 37.

For which his lordship gives this reason; that  
 'the apostles delivered not, *out* and *besides ho-  
 'ly scriptures*, any articles unwritten to be be-  
 'lieved for necessary faiths; that they did not  
 'let run any articles under necessary faith, to  
 'be believed without proof of scripture.'

P. 34.

From all which his lordship concluded, that  
 'holy writ is a more worthy ground of our  
 'faith, than is the clergy of the whole church

P. 41.

'on earth; and that the clergy ought not to  
 'induce or constrain the other people into the  
 'belief and faith of other points and articles,  
 'as upon the faith of which dependeth our sal-  
 'vation, than are expressed in the literal sense  
 'of holy scriptures, or following them so ex-  
 'pressed.' So far was our bishop from being  
 so weak, as to imagine the holy scriptures only  
 a parcel of unsensed characters, and that  
 there is need of a certain human authority to  
 fix and ascertain their sense and meaning, and  
 that such an authority is given to and vested in  
 the clergy of the christian church.

P. 30.

10. His lordship indeed allowed, that  
 'the clergy, or some of them, by their great  
 'learning have power or skill to declare to  
 'simpler

‘ simpler folk, which is the true sense and understanding of the scripture. Reason, says he, will that the wiser part of all the whole multitude of christian men take upon them for to teach and inform authoritatively the simpler part, which thing ought to be taken for faith, and which not; and *that* so doth the clergy to the laity.’ To the same purpose his lordship observed, that ‘ peradventure P. 14.  
 ‘ a man shall have need at some time, and in some texts of scripture, to have exposition had by the eldest party of the church, joined to the apostles, and living in the time of the apostles.’ But then he declared, that ‘ of more strength than this is he saw not P. 34.  
 ‘ that the determination of the church is; and that hereof followeth not, that the clergy so declaring or teaching is worthier, in way of grounding what scripture was ordained to ground, by their due understanding of truth, than is the same scripture in it self for to ground.’

II. His lordship further shewed, that the determinations of the clergy, or church, ought not to be against or contrary to reason; and that if they were, no one was bound to believe them or submit to them. P. 3.  
 ‘ Reason, says he, which is a syllogism well ruled, after the craft taught in logick, and having two premises openly true and to be granted, is so strong and so mighty in all the kinds of matters, that though all the angels in heaven would say, that this conclusion was not true,



‘ yet we should leave the angels saying, and  
 ‘ should trust more to the proof of that syllo-  
 ‘ gism, than to the contrary saying of all the  
 ‘ angels in heaven. For that all GOD’s crea-  
 ‘ tures must needs obey the judgment of REA-  
 ‘ son, and such a syllogism is nothing else  
 ‘ than the judgment of REASON. If the church  
 ‘ in earth determines against what such a syl-  
 ‘ logism concludeth, we should rather trust  
 ‘ and hold us to that syllogism, than to the  
 ‘ determination of the church in earth.’

12. As this supposed that the clergy or church in earth may err, or that it might be so understood, as if the bishop allowed that the determinations of the church might possibly be against reason; he thus guards against any such meaning in the following words:  
 ‘ Nevertheless, sone, of this part I now have  
 ‘ granted to thee, followith not, that the  
 ‘ church in erthe *errith* or *may erre in mat-*  
 ‘ *ter of faith*; no more than folowith of my  
 ‘ graunt, that the chirche now in heaven  
 ‘ erreth or may erre.’

Treatise of  
 faith, MS.

13. Accordingly his lordship contended, that every man is bound to obey the determinations of the church, unless he can demonstrate her determinations to be wrong.’ ‘ I  
 ‘ dare, says he, wel this say and avowe, and  
 ‘ this reverence I give to the church in earth,  
 ‘ that whenever the church of GOD in earth  
 ‘ holdith any article as faith, or hath deter-  
 ‘ mined thilk article to be faith, every singu-  
 ‘ lar

Ibid, c. 7.

‘ lar person of the same church, how wise e-  
‘ ver he be, and how digne and worthy ever he  
‘ be, is bounden under pain of damnation for  
‘ to believe thilk same article as faith, and so  
‘ therin to obey the church, yea tho’ the  
‘ church therein believed or determined false-  
‘ ly or amifs; but if he can evidently and open-  
‘ ly without any doubt shew, teach, and de-  
‘ clare that the church beleeveth, or hath de-  
‘ termined thilk article wrong and untruly, or  
‘ else that the church hath no sufficient ground  
‘ for so to believe and determine. If thou  
‘ canst not prove cleerly and undoubtably, that  
‘ the church errs against thy party, thou art  
‘ in damnation to hold agenst the church:  
‘ and agenward, if thou canst prove it cleerli  
‘ and undoubtably, thou art in damnation for  
‘ that thou conquereest not other men and the  
‘ church; sithen it is proved, that thou maist  
‘ so do, if it be true that thou canst prove  
‘ clearly and undoubtably, what thou preten-  
‘ dest and acknowledgedst thee kunne so prove,  
‘ or that thou knowest so to prove. Yea,  
‘ says his lordship, ‘ tho’ the church should be-  
‘ lieve or determine amifs, yet thereof should  
‘ not this person, who obeys and submits to  
‘ what it has determined, be blamed of GOD,  
‘ but should be fully excused. Since by this  
‘ obedience to the clergy, in case of their er-  
‘ ring, whilst we know not that they do err,  
‘ nor desire nor cause their erring, none hurt  
‘ shall come, but the same good which should

Treatise of  
faith, p. 14.

‘ come to us thereby, if the clergy in teaching us had not erred.’ His lordship therefore puts this case. ‘ If, says he, a parish priest should teach his parishioner some gross heresy instead of an article of faith, it were the parishioner’s duty to receive it,’ *i. e.* in case the parishioner is not notably reasoned for to understand the new testament himself, and cannot evidently and openly without any doubt shew, that what the priest teaches him is a gross heresy; in such a case, the bishop says, the parishioner would, in receiving what the priest teaches him, ‘ not only be excusable before GOD, but be as meritorious, and equally rewarded with the belief of any true article. Nay, if that man should lay down his life for defence of this gross heresy, he would be a true and undoubted martyr.’

P. 27, 28.

14. As to matters of *order* and *discipline*, our bishop shewed, that ‘ the pope is of like authority and jurisdiction with each and the greatest of the apostles; that the church now living is even in authority and power with some parts of scripture: As in this, for ‘ to *make positive ordinances*, like as holy scripture by power of the apostles made; and for ‘ to *revoke* that positive ordinance of holy scripture made by the apostles. Thus, the ‘ clergy may make now first a *fasting-day*, ‘ and an *\*boly-day*, which never were before.’

But

\* Quisque episcopus diem festum velut peculiare quoddam sui monumentum adjicit. *Eraſmi* epist. col. 2025.

But then his lordship adds, that ' hereof it followeth not, that the clergy now living, or the pope now living, may dispense with this, that scripture teacheth as the positive ordinance of Christ, and that they may revoke any of those ordinances: ' or, that tho' the present pope or clergy are equal in power, and have the same authority with *such parts* of holy scripture, as teach us the ordinances of some apostle; they are equal in authority with *all* the scripture of the new testament, or with many other parts thereof, which teach us the positive ordinance of Christ.

15. Tho' our bishop allowed the church or clergy to have power to canonize saints, or to declare that this holy liver, for whom the P. 35, 36. miracles done be well examined and tried by witnesses sworn after his death, is accepted into salvation, and is to be revered, worshipped, and followed as for a saved soul, and much loved and worshipped of GOD; yet he does not scruple to own, that ' pretense miracles, inspirations, and appearings of GOD, or of angels within forth and without, and legends or lives of saints and other stories, which are written and had in fame, are full *uncertain* and *unsure grounds* for to ground upon them faith; that is to say, a truth surpassing nature and revealed by GOD, without passing great trial of them. For certainly among them a *diligent wise ensearcher* shall find sometime *superstitions*,  
' sometime



‘ sometime *errors against sure known truth,*  
 ‘ and sometime *contrariety betwixt themselves.*  
 ‘ ——— And therefore tho’ the church suf-  
 ‘ fer many such to run forth and be read, and  
 ‘ be taken *as wise men will judge and feel of*  
 ‘ *them*; the church is not so hasty, as to deter-  
 ‘ mine *authoritatively* them to be true.’

P. 3:

16. As our bishop thus pleaded for men’s use of their reason and judgment in matters of religion, and their searching and examining the truth of what was determined by the clergy; so he affirmed, that ‘ the clergy shall be condemned at the last day, if by clear wit they draw not men into consent of true faith, otherwise than by fire, or sword, or hanging.’ This was an usage to recover dissenters, which had not been long introduced into the *English* church. But king *Henry IV.* being afraid of breaking with the pope, and desirous to ingratiate himself with his angry archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Arundel*, who was violently set against the poor *Wicklifs*, instructed his ministers, the earls of *Westmorland* and *Northumberland*, whom he sent to the convocation, which met in the *first* year of his reign, to †certify to or assure them, that the king would to the utmost of his power destroy all heresies and hereticks.

*O Rob. 6,*  
*1399.*

Accor-

† ——— Certificare eisdem dominis prelati et clero, quod ipse dominus noster rex omnes libertates ecclesiæ sustineret, nec non hereses et hereticos destrueret juxta posse. E collect. D. *White*, episcopi *Petræburg*.

Accordingly, to be as good as his word, in the next parliament it was enacted, that any one who preached or wrote contrary to the catholick faith, or determination of the holy church, should be arrested by the diocesan, and proceeded against according to the canons, and being convict should be kept in prison, and fined at the diocesan's discretion; and if he refused to abjure, or relapsed after abjuration, he should be delivered to the secular arm, and by the sheriff ordered to be burnt before the people in some high place, that such punishment might strike in fear to the minds of others. This was so much shorter a way with the dissenters, than conferring with them, and by plain sense and argument manifesting the truth to their consciences; that after this law no other method seems to have been much thought of, to stop the mouths of supposed hereticks, and satisfy their doubts and scruples. Infomuch that the learned *Andrew Ammon*, in the beginning of the next century, wrote to his friend *Erasmus* then at *Cambridge*, that the price of wood was considerably advanced about *London* by the daily burnt sacrifices, which the hereticks afforded in *Smithfield*. Accordingly we may observe even our bishop himself, notwithstanding his insisting on the kind treatment of dissenters, and the endeavouring to reclaim them by argument and persuasion; yet owns, that he will not deny these second means of fire, or sword,

or

A. D. 1400.

A. D. 1511.

or hanging to be *lawful*, provided the former means be first used. So cautious was the bishop of offending the clergy then living.

*Rhemish translation of the new testament*  
p. 324. edit.  
1582. 4<sup>a</sup>.

*Treatise of faith*, p. 31.

17. Our bishop likewise shew'd his dislike of a thing being called *catholick*, because it is *orthodox*. It seems to have been an opinion entertained by some in our bishop's time, that the Holy Ghost imposed this name *catholick* upon the believers, which in all points were obedient to the church's doctrine; and that this word *catholick* is the proper note, whereby the holy apostles in their creed taught us to discern the true church from the false heretical congregation of what sort soever. In opposition to this our bishop observed, that 'all true faith, though it be *particular*, ought 'to be called *orthodox*;' but that it was a contradiction in terms to stile *each* faith, or every *particular* faith, *catholick* or general faith. As to the word *orthodox*, he derived it from *orthos* right or true, and *doxos* glory, as much as to say right glory, or the thing which is worthy right or true glory. Which shews how little *Greek* was then understood.

P. 30.

p. 10.

18. Further our bishop approved of the council of *Nice*'s ordaining, that those priests who had wives should not leave them, and be divorced from them, since the apostle *Paul* allowed priests to marry. 'This deede, says 'he, a prest for to freli take and chese of alle 'maidens to him a wiif, (so that he wedde 'not eftsoone if his first wiif die him lyvyng) 'and

‘and for to bigete children, and for to have  
 ‘meyne, and holde house, and for to nu-  
 ‘rische and bringe up hise children, and for to  
 ‘reule his wiif, meyne, and children, and for  
 ‘to purveie for hem, was allowed of *Poul*,  
 ‘and bi liik skile of the othere apostils, as is  
 ‘open of *Paul* bi what is writtun. 1. *Cor.* vii.  
 ‘c.’

19. His lordship likewise granted, that the  
 apostles established no distinction of meats and  
 drinks, or did not appoint fish to be eaten at  
 sometimes and seasons, and flesh at others.  
 ‘Whatever deede, says he, eny apostle or his  
 ‘writing allowith to be in a prestis moral co-  
 ‘versatioun, thilke same dede is not agens re-  
 ‘foun to be in the same prestis moral conver-  
 ‘satioun; for ellis the apostle and his writinge  
 ‘schulde reule agens refoun, which is not to  
 ‘be grauntid. But so it is, that this deede a  
 ‘prest and ech other cristen man, for to †*fre-*  
 ‘ly receyve take and uce alle maner of metis,  
 ‘and alle maner of drinkis, into his sufficiencie  
 ‘with thankis to GOD, holi writ weel a-  
 ‘lowith, as it is open, 1. *Tim.* iv. cap.’ His  
 lordship also allowed, that ‘||over greet multi-  
 ‘tude

† De ciborum generibus dixit dominus *Iesus*: *Quod intrat*  
*in os, non coinquinat hominem.* Et *Paulus* a præceptore non dis-  
 sentiens, *regnum*, inquit, *DEI non est esca et potus.* Cæterum  
 in ciborum delectu quanto nostrorum onus videtur durius quam  
 illorum (*Judæorum.*) *Erasmi* epist. lib. xxxi. 43.

|| Sunt in quibus boni et cordati omnes doleant *Christi* gre-  
 gem nimium involvi Judaicis ceremoniis, et opprimi vel au-  
 toritate



Well aware

‘ tude of mennys posytive lawis oughten not to  
 ‘ be maad; but prelatis and princis ougten to  
 ‘ be weel waar, that over manye positive lawis  
 ‘ be not goven to her peplis. For, says he,  
 ‘ sotheli therof comuth causeli nedis ful myche  
 ‘ yvel, more than y see men confidere it so to  
 ‘ come; of which yvells y desyre in my herte  
 ‘ for to have leiser and space to write my con-  
 ‘ feite.’ But then he added by way of caution,  
 that ‘ to holde that it is unleeful or unexpedi-  
 ‘ ent for eny suche posytyve lawis to be maad  
 ‘ and be goven to the peple, was fer fro his witt  
 ‘ and his resoun.’

20. *Lastly*, our bishop stiled *Christ* the  
 head of the church, which is founded on earth;  
 which church, he said, is always and at all  
 times one and the same, or cannot fail. But  
 then, as I have shewn at large before, he as-  
 serted the papal supremacy, which was then  
 at its height, and said all he could in defence  
 of it against the objections of the *Wick-*  
*liffs*.

toritate vel indiligentia procerum quorundam ecclesiasticorum;  
 qua de re queritur et *Augustinus* in epistolis suis, clamitans *Ju-*  
*dæorum* conditionem tolerabiliorum esse propemodum, quam  
 Christianorum. Ep. 43.

C H A P.

## C H A P. VI.

*Of the Bishop's FRIENDS and FOLLOWERS.*

I. **T**H E main thing, for which our bishop was condemned, was, as I have shewn, his disputing against or denying, what *Waldenss*, a cotemporary of our bishop's, call'd *the arrogance of some writers*, viz. that *the decrees of bishops in the church are of greater weight, authority, and dignity, than is the authority of the scriptures*: Or, in other words, that the authority of the church or clergy is infallible. Thus, its plain, they who condemned our bishop maintained, that *it is necessary to salvation to believe and hold, that what a general council and the universal church doth appoint, approve, or determine, in favour of the faith, and for the salvation of souls, is to be approved and holden by all the faithful of Christ*; as on the contrary, that *what a general council disapproves of, determines, or condemns to be contrary to the catholick faith or good manners, is to be believed and holden by the same, for a thing reprobate, and condemned*. But these high and extravagant principles, espoused by men who had more heat than

Doctri. fidei.  
antiq. Tom. ii.  
lib. 2. c. 20.

than light, were directly contrary to the judgment and opinion of the most sober and learned writers even of that age; however our bishop was so unhappy, as to be condemned for opposing them by the hasty sentence of two or three partial bishops. It has been shewn at large, that even then it was gene-

Mr. Wharton's  
preface to bp.  
Pecock's treatise  
of the rule  
of faith.

rally agreed; 'that the representative church, or general councils, were not only fallible, but had sometimes actually erred; that the decrees and definitions of the church ought to be submitted to the examination of every private christian; that no article of faith was to be received, which was repugnant to the principles of reason; and that not the belief and acceptation of the church caused any doctrine to be accounted true, and an article of faith, but the presupposed truth of the doctrine rendered the belief of it rational and justifiable.'

Wood histo.  
Oxon. Vol. I.  
p. 222.

2. We need not therefore wonder at our being told, that the \*generality of the bishops favoured bishop *Pecock*, notwithstanding the opposition which he met with from some of the zealous doctors of the two universities. It is to call both their learning and judgment in question, to suppose that they did otherwise. Not only so, but they would have been highly ungrateful to desert the bishop in his present distress, when they knew his falling into it was partly on *their* account, his vindicating them

\* Episcopi ei favebant. *Gascoigne Dicti. Theo. MS.*

them, and their order, from the aspersions cast upon them. Not but that things had now taken another turn in the university of *Oxford*, where 'till almost this time, the memory of Dr. *Wiclif* had been very much revered, and his principles defended; but now by the raw and young regents, who were of a very forward zeal, and more warmly than wisely affected, it was become very fashionable to run down that truly great man, to defame his memory, and misrepresent his tenets. The cry of the church drown'd all sober and impartial thinking and reasoning, and nothing almost was now heard but boasts of its authority, and very warm defences of the infallibility of its determinations.

3. Of the bishops, which took the part of our bishop, *two* are particularly named, *viz.*

I. † *Walter Hart, Lybert, or Le-Hert*, S.T.P. who was first a scholar of *Exeter college* in *Oxford*, and from thence, I suppose, elected fellow of *Oriel*, the same college of which our bishop was, of which he was afterwards chosen provost; he was sometime after made confessor to the queen, and by the pope's bull of provision, dated *Jan. 24. 1445-6*, promoted to the see of *Norwich*, *Le Neve's* where he was instrumental by his good conduct.

X

† Ego *Thomas Gascoigne* novi, quod iste *Pecock* provissus tunc in episcopum *Cicestrensem* per media *Willielmi* ducis *Suffolciæ*, et *Walteri Hart* episcopi *Norwicensis*. — Tradidit eas scriptas in *Anglico*, episcopo *Norwicensi* suo fautori. *Gascoigne Dic. Theo. MS.*



Holingshed,  
p. 1256.

Oxford rather  
Sir Thomas  
Browne.

duct in pacifying a commotion, which was in that city the next year against the prior of that place, on account of certain new and unaccustomed exactions, which the prior claimed, and took of the citizens, contrary to their ancient freedom. He died *May 17, 1472.* *Weever* tells us, that he paved the church, and during his life maintained twelve students at *Cambridge*, with all things necessary for them at his own charges. A later writer assures us, that he built the traverse stone partition, or rood loft, on which the great crucifix was placed, and beautified the roof of the body of the church; that accordingly towards the north side of the said wall are the bishop's arms, and towards the south side his *rebus*, viz. *a bart in water*; and that upon the door, under the rood loft, was a plate of brass with *Latin* verses on it. This, it seems, was in being in Mr. *Weever's* time, tho' the inscription was maimed, as follows:

Hic jacet abscondus sub marmore presul honestus,

Seclo defunctus, olim pastor quoque sponsus  
Istius ecclesie, cum digno culmine morum  
Prefuit egregie

---

Dictus *Walterus Lygbert* cognomine notus.

---

*Germina*

Evellens acriter mala *germana* fructus acerbi

Dispersit pariter divini semina verbi,

Anno

Anno milleneo centum quater septuageno

Annexis binis instabit ei prope finis.

Septima cum decima lux Maii fit numerata,

Ipsius est anima de corpore tunc separata.

Fili Christe Dei, fons vitæ, spes medicinæ,

Propitieris ei donans requiem sine fine.

II. *Adam Molens* or *de Molineux*, who Leland de scriptoribus Britan. was of noble parentage. Being doctor of laws, he was promoted to the bishoprick of *Chichester*, A.D. 1445; he was also lord privy seal, and murdered at *Portsmouth*, by some sailors hired for that purpose (as has been said before) June 9, 1449. Both these prelates have very great characters given them for their learning, piety, wisdom, and probity; particularly bishop *Molens* is represented as a great encourager of learning†.

4. It is intimated as if, besides these two Gascoigne Dicti. theo. MS. prelates, *William Askw* or *Aiscough* bishop of *Sarum*; and *William Buthe* or *Boothe*, bishop of *Coventry*, favoured our bishop; with whom Cestria in MS. vid. Murimuth continu. p. 112. is joined doctor *Vincent Clement*, of *Oxford*, whom *Gascoigne* calls *insolens doctor*, because he obtained his grace in an unusual way. For,

X 2

as

† Inter quos et amicus noster *Adam de Molineux*, secreti regis signaculi et custos, et literarum cultor, amisso capite, truncatus jacuit. *Hermannus Schedelius* apud *Leland* de scriptor. Britannicis, p. 454.

Circa *Epiphaniam* domini magister *Adam Moleyns*, episcopus *Cicestrensis*, apud *Portesmothe* in hospitali ibidem, portando ac solvendo *soldariis* aliisque nautis regios denarios, clamando eum proditorem regis et regni, unumque venditorem *Normanniæ*, miserabiliter interemptus est. *W. Wyrcester* *Annales rerum Anglic.* ad ann. 1449.

Ibid, pars I.  
p. 343, V.  
*Episcopus.*

as the abovesaid writer informs us, ' he was in-  
' ceptor in divinity at *Oxford*, when he was  
' only in deacon's or subdeacon's orders, and  
' obtained his degree of doctor by threats and  
' promises, and diverse letters and briefs sent  
' by the king against or to compel those,  
' who in a full congregation of regents at *Ox-*  
' *ford* had, out of a principle of conscience,  
' denied him his grace.' By this it seems pro-  
bable, that this doctor was in some favour at  
court, which was enough to cause *Gascoigne*  
to have an ill opinion of him, and give him a  
disparaging character. In archbishop *Kemp's*  
register he is stiled—*venerabilis et egregius*  
*vir, dominus Vincentius Clement* — *fructuum*  
*cameræ apostolicæ in regno Angliæ collector.*  
p. 222; and by archbishop *Parker, Romanus*  
*quidam, papæ subdiaconus et quæstor. Antiq.*  
p. 434.

Literæ regie  
ad univ. *Ox-*  
*on.* MS. inter  
collect. *White*  
epi. *Petrobur.*

5. To these I ought to add one *John Har-*  
*lowe*, tho' I know no more of him, than  
that he having a mind to proceed, and com-  
mence professor of divinity in the university  
of *Oxford*, the king's letters of *mandamus*  
were sent to the chancellor, regents, and non-  
regents of that university, whereby they were  
' prohibited the conferring any degree on him,  
' or any other suspected of the heresy, which  
' he was noised to hold and favour, viz. *the*  
' *superstitious, erroneous, and damned opinions*  
' *of Reynold Pecock, minister of the see of*  
' *Chichester.*' The foundation of this suspicion

was

was, it seems, a report, that he had preserved a great many of our bishop's writings, and therefore the chancellor, &c. are required by the same letters to search his house, and if they find any such books to take them away, and transmit them either to the king, or the archbishop, primate of *England*, and ordinary in the same.

6. || *Gascoigne* tells us, that 'a youth of twenty years old, who went to the grammar school at *Oxford*, and wore a secular habit, was accused to the king of *England*, *Henry VI.* of diverse and the worst heresies, particularly that he eat flesh on *Fridays*; that on this he was put into the hands of the bishop of *Lincoln*, the lord *William Alnwick*, who committed him to *Wallingford* goal, by which means he was induced afterwards to abjure or retract his opinions before the bishop; and professing himself a monk at *Abendon*, to own before *William* the abbot, that he had received and learned all his heresies and errors from the mouth of *Pecock* alone, and from no one else.' But any one, I think, of tolerable sense may be left to judge

He died Dec. 5, 1449, eight years before our bishop was convened before the archbishop for heresy, and was a violent persecutor of the *Lollards*.

X 3

of

|| Fuit nuper unus, qui 20 annorum scholaris in grammatica *Oxonia*, qui existens in habitu seculari accusatus fuit regi *Anglie Henrico VI.* de diversis et pessimis heresibus, et qui comedit carnes omni feria sexta; et traditus episcopo *Lincolniensi*, domino *Willielmo Alnwick*, incarceratus fuit in *Wallingforth*, et coram episcopo abjurus factus est monachus *Abendone*, et ibi confessus est manifeste coram abbate *Willielmo*, quod omnes hereses suas et errores recepit et didicit ab ore prædicti *Reginaldi*, et a nullo alio. Dict. Theo. MS.



of the falseness and partiality of this relation; since he cannot but have observed from the account given even by this writer of the bishop's opinions, how our bishop defended against the *Lollards* the usages of the church, which they condemned, and particularly shew'd, that the church or clergy had authority to appoint *new fasts* and *holy-days*, or such as were never ordered before.

Dictio. Theo.  
p. 382, MS.

7. The same writer informs us, that *John Orle*, batchelor of divinity, was his lordship's chaplain, and defended his lord from the false aspersions cast on him, in relation to his opinion of the obligation which bishops are under to preach.

Wood histo.  
Oxon. vol. I.  
p. 230.

8. In the year 1476 complaint was made to the king [*Edward IV.*] that not a few of the members, or students, of the university of *Oxford* were in a great many things of the opinion of doctor *Wiclif*, and our bishop. For it seems at that time their opinions were reckoned to be very like, if not the same. Accordingly the royal mandate was procured to be sent to the university, requiring them to search for both doctor *Wiclif's* and bishop *Pecock's* books in the several colleges and halls, and to punish those, who had embraced their opinions. In answer to these letters, the university wrote back again, that 'with an unanimous consent they had condemned those books to be burnt, and had put that sentence in execution the day before; and that  
' if

'if any more of these two mens writings  
'should be found hereafter, they likewise  
'should be burnt.' As for the men, who were  
found to have favoured the opinions of doctor  
*Wiclif* and our bishop, they, the historian  
tells us, were either expelled the university,  
or excommunicated, or some other way pu-  
nished. Among these was one *Thomas Smyth*,  
who being suspected of heresy, was afterwards  
obliged to purge himself before the king. On  
this account, I suppose, because Dr. *Wiclif*  
and our bishop are both mentioned together,  
as holding heretical opinions, the *Spanish* au-  
thors of the *index expurgatorius*, printed 1667,  
have stiled our bishop, 'a false bishop and a  
'*Lutheran* professor at *Oxford*.' Archdeacon  
*Harpsfield* says much the same of our bishop,  
*viz.* 'that he was entangled in the opinions  
'of *Wiclif*.' The same mistake is transcribed  
by *Holinshead* and our other historians, who  
are too often implicit followers of one another.  
But the direct contrary is very plain; for tho'  
our bishop contended for the holy scriptures  
being the rule of christian faith, and opposed  
that authority, which was then claimed to the  
church, according to which the determi-  
nations of the clergy or church were placed  
on a level with the holy scriptures, and af-  
firmed to be of the same authority; he yet  
did not side with the followers of doctor *Wic-  
lif*, but thought them in many things very  
much mistaken. But to return.

## The LIFE of

9. Notwithstanding all these wholesome severities or devout rigours, as these persecutions of reputed hereticks were then called, it does not appear, that the zealots of those times were able effectually to compass their ends, and entirely to root out those opinions, to which they gave so hated a name. Tho' the difficulties and discouragements, which they invented to suppress them, were so terrible; there were yet a great many in the university of *Oxford*, and elsewhere in the kingdom, who were no ways awed by them; but chose rather to encounter them, than subject their necks to a yoke so intolerable, as that of *POPERY*, and to hold such superstitious vanities, as are contended for by that sect. Nay so zealous were even the common people for the knowledge of the holy scriptures, (which had been \*translated into *English* by doctor *Wiclif* and his fellow labourers not many years before our bishop's time,) that *Fox's acts, &c.* we are told, one *Nicholas Belward* gave for vol. I. p. 927 only the New Testament in *English* four marks

\* This translation seems to have been dispersed in small written parcels, because of the expence in writing them, and their being the more easily purchased, viz. the four gospels, St. *Paul's*, St. *Peter's*, St. *James's* epistles, &c. See *Strype's Memorials ecclesiastical*, Vol I. App. p. 38. I have one of these little books, written on fine vellum of the size of our books in twelves, in which are contained, 1. the Gospel according to St. *John*, 2. The Epistle of St. *James*, 3. The two Epistles of St. *Peter*. 4. The three Epistles of St. *John*. 5. The Epistle of *Jude*. 6. The book of the *Revelations*, &c.

four marks and forty pence†, or 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* a sum equal, at least, to ten pounds, according to the present value of money.

10. Not many years after our bishop's death A.D. 1512. lived *William Tindal*. Being educated in *Magdalen Hall* in *Oxford*, he there became acquainted with some of those, who favoured doctor *Wiclif's* and our bishop's opinions, in relation to the authority and sufficiency of the holy scripture, with which he entirely closed. Thus does he express himself: '*Christ*, and all Works, p. 256  
' the apostles, with all the angels in heaven,  
' if they were here, could preach no more,  
' than is preached of necessity unto our souls:  
' We cannot receive a new article of the faith  
' without scripture, as profitable unto our souls:  
' All things necessary to salvation are comprehended in scripture, ever to endure: By  
' this scripture the councils general have concluded such things, as were in them determined.' In consequence of this he argued against the infallibility of the church, or the impossibility of the pope and clergy's erring in their determinations; and very smartly exposed the folly and absurdity of such fictions, and vain pretensions. In these points he agreed exactly with our bishop, although in others he rather followed the sentiments of doctor  
*Wiclif*,

† Not long after, when printing was invented and in use, the New Testament of Mr. *Tindal's* translation was sold for 3*s.* 2*d.* notwithstanding its being prohibited, and the danger on that account of selling it.



*Wiclif*. But as correction is very grievous to them that forsake the way, Mr. Tyndal was so hated for these his endeavours to convince men of their sin and folly, and to persuade them to search the scriptures, and make *them* their guide and rule, that his enemies never left him, 'till they had got him to be destroyed; which was done A.D. 1536, by his being first strangled at a stake, and then burnt at **Stil-**  
**ford** castle in *Flanders*, to which country he had retired, as to a place of more liberty at that time, than his own native land was. At his death he prayed, that GOD *would open the king of England's eyes*; which prayer of his was so far answered, that in a few years the king was graciously pleased to allow the use of the holy  
A.D. 1540. † scriptures in *English*, and of the *hours* in the same language, which indulgence was soon followed by a more thorough reformation in the next reign.

† Mr. Tyndal printed without the name of any place, and without any date, the *New Testament* in *English*, translated from the original *Greek*, which had never been done before; and in 1530 the *Pentateuch*, translated from the *Hebrew*, with marginal notes. In 1535 was the whole *Bible* with the *Apocraphy* printed at *Hamburg*, translated into *English* by Will. Tyndal, Miles Coverdale, and George Joye; and in 1537 another edition by John Rogers, but called *Thomas Matthews Bible*, in the title page of which was printed one line in red letters; *Set forth with the king's most gracious licence*. About the same time, if not before, was the *New Testament* printed in *Latin* and *English* by Miles Coverdale, and dedicated to the king. See *History of the English translations of the Bible, &c.*

## C H A P. VII.

*Of the Bishop's Writings.*

OUR bishop having spent, as he assures us himself, more than twenty years in writing controversial books against the *Lollards*, or *Wiclifists*, (who, as has been said, were very numerous, notwithstanding the sanguinary laws then in force against them, and the rigorous execution of them,) must have written a great many. Accordingly we have seen, that no fewer than fourteen volumes of our bishop's works, viz. three in folio, and eleven in quarto, were burnt at St. Paul's. Of the titles of some of these our bishop makes mention in two of his books yet remaining, viz. *The repressour of overmuch blaming the clergy*, and his *Book of faith*. These were written in *English* and *Latin*, and are as follows.

*In English.*

1. *THE Forcrier*, alias, *The bifore crier*.
2. *The book of cristen religioun*, alias, *The rule of cristen religioun*. A copy of this is yet remaining in the *Bodleian* library. It is a fair parchment MS. in quarto, consisting of about

about 200 pages; it contains two parts, and is written in a catechetical way, in a dialogue between a father and his son, the son asking, and the father answering the question. In it the bishop treats of man, his body, soul, senses, and faculties in a very distinct and orderly manner; of the creed, and the ten commandments; of prayer, the pater-noster, the seven virtues, and seven deadly sins. He protests most earnestly and often against maintaining any heresies, professes to submit all his writings to the fathers of the church, and complains grievously, that some of his books have been published by the forwardness and indiscretion of his friends, before he had revised them himself, and committed them to the bishops for their approbation. He owns no articles of faith to be contained in scripture, but the twelve of the apostles creed, in reciting which he quite leaves out the declaration of *Christ's* descent into hell. This book is said to have been written by him A. D. 1457, which must be not long before his troubles.

Collectanea  
R. Jamesii

4°.

3. *The donet into cristen religioun.* A transcript of this on paper, made by doctor *Richard James*, is in the *Bodleian* library; It is in quarto, and consists but of 31 pages. It seems to be a reference to his larger book of cristen religioun, and written by way of supplement and appendix to it; but it refers to seven or eight of his other books besides. In it the bishop repeats with great vehemence the  
com-

complaint he had made before in his *rule of cristen religioun*, of the too hasty publication of some of his writings by his friends. In the first page are these words, which shew the reason of its title *the donet*. *As the comoun donet|| berith himsilfe towards the full kunninge of Latyn, so this booke for GODDIS laws; therfore this booke might be conveniently called the donet or key to cristen religioun.*

4. *The solewer to the donet.* In the Oxford catalogue of the manuscript books here in England this book is mentioned, among the MSS. of Charles Theyere in Gloucestershire, N<sup>o</sup>. 6627, 257. Only *devout* is there misprinted for *donet*.

5. *The booke of matrimonie.* The design of this might possibly be to defend, in opposition to the *Wiclifists*, the practice of the church in making contracts by words *de presenti*, and the priests taking fees for marriage, both which were found fault with by Dr. *Wiclif*.

6. *The filling up of the four tables.* This seems to have been elsewhere called by the bishop, *The spreading of the four tables*. However

|| In the account given by John Andrews to pope Sixtus IV. of the books printed by Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz, by his direction, the first mentioned is, *Donati pro puerulis*, of which he says they had printed 300, *Ut inde principium dicendi sumamus, unde imprimendi initium sumpsimus*. Cotgrave thus explains the French word *donat*, the name of a certain grammarian read in some schools, whence the proverb, *les diables estoient encores a leur donat*, the devils were then but in their accidence or grammar.



Repreffor

part II. c. 3.

ever this be, the author informs us that the third part of this book is chiefly upon usury.

7. *The just apprising of holi scripture, in three partis.* The design of this book seems to have been to shew, in opposition to the *Wickliffs*, the use and authority of holy scripture. Two principal faults he finds with the *Lollards*: 1. Their *overmych leenyng to scripture, and in such maner and wise as it longith not to holi scripture for to receyve.* 2. *Setting not bi for to folowe the determynations and the holdingis of the chirche in mater of faith.* The first of these, the bishop tells us in his *book of faith*, he had sufficiently removed in this book and his *Repreffor*. The other very probably he undertakes in the following book.

8. *The just apprising of doctours*, or, of the use of the fathers.

9. *The provoker of cristen men.*

10. *The book of counceilis.*

11. *The proving of cristen faith.*

12. *The book of signis\* in the chirche*, alias *the booke of worschipping*; the subject whereof the bishop expresses a little more fully, *Repreffour*, Part II. chap. 12. viz. that it treated of the *uce of worschipping doon bi seable rememorative signes.* By which, I suppose, he means the images of saints. In this our bishop seems to have been of the same opinion with doctor *Wiclif*, that *imapis moun be worschipped in a manere*,

\* Among *William Tindal's* works is a tract with this title; *A treatise upon signes and sacraments.*

*manere, as for signis of seyntis, or as bookis of lewid men, or as a wyfe kepith cherli the ryng of her weddinge for love of her busbonde.*

13. *The represser of ouer myche wiiting the* N<sup>o</sup>. 190. fol.  
*clergie.* A copy of this is still in being in the publick library of the university of Cambridge. At the end of it is written in a hand different from that of the book itself; *exhibit. coram domino in capella sua apud Lambith xi Novembr. anno domini MCCCCLVII<sup>mo</sup>*; which very probably is the entry of the notary after reading this book before the archbishop, &c. in order to its examination.

14. *The boke of leernyng.*

15. *The boke of presthode.*

16. *The boke of baptym.*

17. *The boke of faith, in two parts.* Of this book I have given an account before. The copy we have of it certainly wants a considerable part at the latter end, where it breaks off abruptly.

18. *The boke of the chirche,* mentioned in the *boke of faith*, Part II. chap. 2. *as so schal be taught in the book of the chirche.*

Of some of these *English* books the bishop more than once speaks in his other writings with a good deal of satisfaction, as of performances deserving very highly to be valued and esteemed; however, by such as are ignorant, and have not better opportunities of informing themselves of the things treated of in them.

‘ Full weel ougten, says he, alle persoones of the  
‘ lay Repreffour,  
part I. c. 10.  
MS.

‘ lay parti not leerned ougwhere ellis—for to  
 ‘ make miche of bookis maad to hem in her  
 ‘ modiris langage, whiche ben clepid thus :  
 ‘ *The donet into cristen religioun ; The folwer*  
 ‘ *to the donet ; The book of cristen religioun,*  
 ‘ namelich the first parti fro the bigynnyng of  
 ‘ the iii treti forthward ; *The book filling the*  
 ‘ *iiii tablis ; The book of worschiping ; The book*  
 ‘ *clepid the just appriseing of holi scripture ;*  
 ‘ *The book clepid the provoker of cristen man ;*  
 ‘ *The book of counceiles,* and other mo pertenyng  
 ‘ yng to thenow seid book of cristen religioun.  
 ‘ —Miche ougten lay perfoones for to  
 ‘ make, and apprise, and love the now spoken  
 ‘ bokis. And ferthermore ouer this now seid,  
 ‘ the now spoken bokis techen ful clereli and  
 ‘ bihoue fulli the treuthis and governauncis of  
 ‘ GODDIS laws, whiche ben groundid in  
 ‘ holi scripture; and also other treuthis of feith,  
 ‘ which ben not lawis, and ben groundid in  
 ‘ holi scripture. And also thei treten ful nobili  
 ‘ the positiif lawis of Criste aboute the  
 ‘ newe sacramentis. — Of this same mater  
 ‘ it is quikli and smertli spoken in a litil book  
 ‘ thereto, and therefore maad, whiche y clepe  
 ‘ *the provoker of cristen peple,* and therefore  
 ‘ no more therof here.’

In much the same manner does the bishop  
 recommend these books to the *Wiclifist* laity,  
 and bespeak *their* kindness to him in his  
*book of faith*. ‘ If ye asken,’ says he, ‘ who  
 ‘ y am, which makith him so bisi here agens  
 ‘ you

' you ; forsothe he is the man, which hath  
 ' more labourid and done into youre goostli  
 ' auaille, as of trewe kunnyng, to be had of  
 ' you, and errour to be remoued fro you, than  
 ' ye you filf ben of kunnyng and of power for  
 ' to so do to you filf. In more special for to  
 ' seie, he is the man which for you, and for  
 ' alle lay-men, hath write in lay-mennys lan-  
 ' gage these bokis : *The forcrier ; the donet in-*  
 ' *to the book of cristen religioun ; the provoker ;*  
 ' *the repreffer ; the book of signis in the cherche,*  
 ' which y clepe *the book of worschipping ; the*  
 ' *boke of leernyng ; the book of filling the iiii ta-*  
 ' *blis ;* this present *boke of feith ; the boke of*  
 ' *presthode,* with summe other mo. Whiche  
 ' bokis if ye wolen rede diligentli, and attende  
 ' therto studioseli, and be wel acqueyntid with  
 ' hem, and not for to take an hasti smel, or  
 ' smatche in hem, and soone leie hem aside ;  
 ' ye schullen fynde in hem so greet witt and  
 ' leerning of cristen religioun, that ye schulen  
 ' holde you bigilid, in the trust which ye had  
 ' bifore in youre othere studies and laboris for  
 ' leernyng : And ye schule se, that so fer the  
 ' wittis and kunnyng of clerkis passen youre  
 ' wittis and youre leernyng in maters of cris-  
 ' ten religioun, that ye schulan not truste so  
 ' moche to youre kunnyng, as ye now doon.  
 ' And ye schulen truste more to the kunnyng  
 ' of clerkis, and seche bifili to have her helpe  
 ' and counseiling in tho maters, than he have  
 ' bifore this doon. And ye schulen chastise

Y

' you



‘ you filf ful wel, and ful vertuofeli, fro pride  
 ‘ and prefumpcioun bifore had, in setting and  
 ‘ apprifing youre leernyng and kunnyng in  
 ‘ maters of criften religioun bifore the leern-  
 ‘ yng and kunnyng of clerkis, and of the  
 ‘ chirche, as ye bifore this han doon.’

In this manner did our bifhop try to gain  
 the affections of the diffenters, and to incline  
 them to hearken to and confider the reafons  
 and motives, which he ufed to abate their pre-  
 judices, and reconcile them to the church.  
 What fucces his lordfhip had in thefe his  
 labours, he himfelf tells them, for whose fake  
 he took fo much pains. ‘ Forfothe, ’ *fays he,*  
 ‘ fumme of the kunnyngift men of youre  
 ‘ foorte, aftir that thei han red of fumme of  
 ‘ thefe fpokun bokis, and han take bi notable  
 ‘ tyme affaie and acqueyntance in hem, han  
 ‘ hungrid and thirftid for to have hadde the  
 ‘ copie and the contynuel uce of tho bokis to  
 ‘ hem, as moche as euer thei hungriden and  
 ‘ thirftiden aftir mete and drinke.’ Elsewhere  
 in the fame book he tells his readers, that  
 ‘ the wittieft and kunnyngift men of thilk feid  
 ‘ foort contrarie to the chirche, and which han  
 ‘ beholde as dukis amonge hem, han loued  
 ‘ him, for that he wolde fpeak oft tyme and  
 ‘ bi long leifer with them, and pacientli heere  
 ‘ her euydencis and her motyves without ex-  
 ‘ probracioun.’

*English*

English tracts promised by the bishop, and which, so far as appears, were never published by him.

1. *A schort compendiose logik.* Of this he <sup>Repressor part I. c. 2.</sup> says as follows, after expressing the great need there was of such a thing in *her modires langage*, and the excellent use it might be of: *Into whos making, if GOD wole graunte leue and leyser, y purpose sumtyme astir my othere bysynessis for to assaie.*

2. *A book of legendis.* Of this design our <sup>Ibid part I. c. 12.</sup> bishop thus speaks: *In legendis ben founde manie ful untrewwe fables, as in a book therof to be maad schal appeere.*

3. *The book of eukarist.* By an uncertain author of a chronicle in the library of *Lincoln college in Oxford* we are informed, that our bishop entertained wrong opinions of the eucharist. But this seems scarce credible, that his lordship should be allowed by such severe judges to do so with impunity; or that they should omit mentioning this among the conclusions, which they condemned.

*Besides these English books our bishop wrote, and published, the Latin ones following.*

1. *De fide et sacramentis*, mentioned by him, *Repress.* Part I. c. 8, and *Boke of Faith*, Part II. c. 2. as so schal be taught in the book of feith in Latin.

## The LIFE of

2. *De baptismo*, } mentioned *Repress.*
3. *De pœnitentia*, } Part IV. c. 2.
4. *Iusta doctorum æstimatio*. The same in *Latin* as the *English* book before mentioned with this title, *The just apprising of doctors*.

*Latin treatises promised only, so far as appears.*

1. *Lectiones e cathedra academica*, *Repress.* Part V. c. 6.
2. *Demonstratio christianæ fidei*, Book of faith, Part I. c. 2. y hope to make in *Latin*, and to be clepid the proof of cristen faith. He refers to the same again, c. 10.
3. *De Ecclesia*, promised in the same book to be made in *Latin*, Part I. c. 10.
4. *De prædicatione*, mentioned in his allegation to the archbishop in behalf of his seven conclusions; prout *satis clarus patebit in 9º decimo libro de prædicatione super ipsis conclusionibus scribendo*.

*Besides these bishop Bale ascribes to our bishop the following books; but by what authority, I do not know.*

1. *The defender*.
2. *The folower of it*.
3. *The Declaratory*.
4. *Of the creed*. Dr. Gascoigne tells us, that the bishop forged a new creed very tedious, and

and published it in *English*. The same, or to this purpose, we are told by abbot *Whetbam-* Acta, &c. MS.  
*sted, viz.* that our bishop 'added to the three  
 'creeds a fourth of his own in the vulgar  
 'tongue, in which, together with the article  
 'of Christ's *descent into hell*, he set aside di-  
 'verse other articles, as if he had no faith  
 'nor credence in them.' This seems incon-  
 sistent with what *Gascoigne* reports, that this  
 creed was *very tedious*; since if several articles  
 of the common creed were by our bishop laid  
 aside, the creed, which he published in *English*,  
 must be far enough from being *very tedious*.  
 As to his lordship's setting aside the article of  
 Christ's † *descent into hell*, it is no more, than  
 what was done in the old *Roman* creed, used *Usserii, de Ro-*  
 by our *Anglo-Saxon* ancestors, which run *manæ eccle-*  
 thus: *Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate,* *sizæ symbolo,*  
*and buried, rose again the third day from the* *&c. p. 8, 9.*  
*dead, &c.* It may not be improper perhaps  
 here to observe, that the bishop's setting aside  
 this article, and reading that of the church,  
 not as it was commonly then read, *Credo in*  
*sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*, but *credo sanctam*  
*ecclesiam*, was not done out of opposition to  
 doctor *Wiclif*; who, so far as it appears by his  
 translation of the apostles creed, never found  
 fault with the article of the descent into hell.

Y 3

But

† *Av. Credis hujus animam descendisse ad inferos? BA.*  
*Hanc particularem non fuisse quondam additam nec in symbolo*  
*Romano, nec in symbolo orientalium ecclesiarum, testis est Cy-*  
*prianus; nec recensetur apud Tertullianum vetustissimum scrip-*  
*torem. Erasmi colloq. tit. Inquisitio de fide.*



But besides this surmise, it was suspected, that our bishop by his thus differing from the common creed then in use, in his translation of it, *male sensit de sanctionibus ecclesiæ*, or was not for submitting to the determinations of holy church. For so zealous and industrious were the rulers of the church, in the times of this ignorance, to keep the people from knowing better; that they absolutely forbade them the use of the creed, the lord's prayer, and ten commandments in their own language, or the tongue wherein they were born. Accordingly, we find it one of the articles exhibited against the poor *Lollards*, as they were called in contempt, that they declared, that *every man is bound to know the lord's prayer, and the creed in English; and that they had the lord's prayer, and the salutation of the angel, and the creed, and the epistles and gospels in that language; and said that, according to them they would live, and thereby believed to be saved.* For this, by the forementioned constitution of archbishop *Arundel*, they were to be punished as fautors of heresy and error; i.e. purgation might be ordered them at the pleasure of him, who suspected them to be hereticks, in which if there was any failure, they might be condemned as hereticks; also they were liable to the penalty of excommunication *ipso jure*, and after they had been so excommunicated, were made infamous, and intestable actively and passively, or incapable of giving or receiving any

Incapable of  
making a  
will.

any legacies, and interdicted from performing any lawful acts, or receiving any benefit from the law, &c. Infomuch that when dean Co-William Tin-  
*dal's works.*  
 let, sometime after 1505, made a paraphrastical translation of the *lord's prayer*, which was afterwards printed in the primer of *Salisbury* use 1531, *Fitz-James*, bishop of *London*, would have made him an heretick, or prosecuted him on this constitution, had not the archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Warham*, holpe the dean.

5. To William Godharde the Franciscan, *Epist.* 1. This letter seems to have been relating to the preachers of those times, who were commonly the preaching friars; who, as has been hinted before, made it their business to *preach themselves*, and instead of preaching to the people *Christ Jesus*, and the doctrine of the gospel, to entertain them with trifling tales, and insipid stories, invented on purpose to keep them in profound ignorance of their duty, and to make them stand in fear of, and live in an absolute dependance on their priests, and their pardons. A writer therefore of this time complained of the prelates, that *they prechen not Christ's gospel in worde and dede, but senden new hypocrites*, i. e. the begging and preaching friars, or other religious, *to preche fables and lesings; that there were many unable curates, that kunnen not the ten commandments, ne read their sauter.* To give a specimen of their preaching, I need only refer

Mr. Strype's  
memorials ec-  
clesiast. vol. I.  
p. 139.

to the *Festival*, a book composed on purpose for the help and assistance of those ignorant priests, who were to read out of this book, on the several festivals, the sermons here provided for each of them.

Impensis Jo-  
annis Richar-  
di, 1499.

In the sermon *Of the dedication of the church*, or the church holy-day or wake, speaking of church-yards, and burying the dead, the writer has these words. 'Church-yards,' says he, 'were appointed by the fathers to bury in for two causes, one to be prayed for as our holy church useth, and another for the body to lie there at rest, for the fiend hath no manner of power within christian burials. No burying in the church, except it be the patron, that defends it from bodily enemies, and the parson, vicar, priest; or clerk, that defend the church from ghostly enemies with their prayers. Some have been buried there, and cast out again on the morrow, and all the cloths left still in the grave. An angel came on a time to a warden of a church, and bad him go to the bishop, to cast out the body he had buried there, or else he should be dead within thirty days; and so he was, for he would not do, as he was bidden.'

So again, 'many walk on nights, when buried in holy place, but that is not long of the fiend, but the grace of GOD to get them help. And some be guilty and have no rest. Four men stale an abbot's ox to their larder; the

‘ the abbot did a sentence, and cursed them ;  
 ‘ so three of them were shriven, and asked  
 ‘ mercy; the fourth died, and was not affoiled,  
 ‘ and had not forgiveness. So when he was  
 ‘ dead, the spirit went by night, and feared all  
 ‘ the people about, that none durst walk after  
 ‘ sun down. Then as the parish priest went  
 ‘ on a night with GOD’s body to housel a sick  
 ‘ man, this spirit went with him, and told  
 ‘ him what he was, and why he went, and  
 ‘ prayed the priest to go to his wife, that they  
 ‘ should go both to the abbot, and make him  
 ‘ amends for his trespasss, and so to affoil him,  
 ‘ for he might have no rest. And anon the  
 ‘ abbot affoiled him, and he went to rest and  
 ‘ joy for evermore.’

Such were the fables, and idle tales, which  
 were then delivered from the pulpits as gos-  
 pel truths, and for which our bishop censured  
 them as *pulpit bawlers*.

6. *Of divine offices.*

7. *A manual.*

8. *Of the providence of GOD.*

9. *Of the liberty of the gospel.* This was  
 what Dr. *Wiclif* pleaded for, in opposition to  
 the being bounden by sinful men’s jurisdiction,  
 or their statutes, privileges, and weyward cus-  
 toms. If this was therefore the bishop’s book,  
 its probable the design of it was to shew where-  
 in the liberty of the gospel consisted, and that  
 in some things we are obliged by men’s sta-  
 tutes and ordinances.



10. *Of the power of seculars.*

11. *Against Constantine's donation.*

12. *Of the equality of ministers.* This tract might possibly be to shew, that all ministers are not equal; but that there are different degrees in the order of priesthood.

13. *Of the laws and doctrines of men.* To shew perhaps, that they should not infringe that liberty, which the gospel allows; or that men should not be punished more for acting contrary to the laws and doctrines of men, than for open breaking GOD's commandments. Doctor *Wiclif* complained, that *the church that wandrith here is made thral by man's law, that it was then more thral than in time of the old lawe.* And therefore he advised to get a-  
 gen our former freedome, and trowe no prelate in this church but if he grounde him in GOD's lawe; since thus men should shake away all the law that the pope hath made, and all rules of the new orders, but inasmuch as they been grounded in the law that GOD hath given. What our bishop's opinion was of the multitude of ceremonies introduced into the church, has been shewn before, viz. that tho' the burden of them was grown excessively great, to the prejudice of our christian liberty; yet that some of them ought to be retained.

14. *Of communion under both kinds.* It does not appear, that ever doctor *Wiclif* contended for administering the communion in both kinds. But his followers, its plain, asserted

Homily on  
Gal. 4. MS.

serted, that ' the priests ought to carry to the  
' sick the *blood* of *Christ*, as well as his body.'  
If this tract therefore was our bishop's, it  
might be perhaps his design in it to justify  
the usages of the then church, in carrying to  
them the host or wafer only.

15. *Against unlawful begging.* Whoever  
was the author of this tract, it seems to have  
been designed against the begging friars, and  
to expose their roguery.

16. *An account of his own recantation.* This  
does not seem likely to be our bishop's, because  
in the instructions given by the archbishop to  
the abbot of *Thorney*, it is expressly provided,  
that the bishop *should have nothing to write*  
*with, nor stuff to write upon.*

However this be, it's certain, that the grea-  
test part of all these books are now lost, they  
being studiously suppressed by the archbishop,  
by whose order as many of our bishop's wri-  
tings, as could any where be found, were whol-  
ly destroyed.

Our historian, *John Stow*, in his annals P. 666, ed. 1602.  
tells us, that our bishop had laboured many  
years in translating the holy scriptures into  
*English*: but there is no good authority for  
this. Our bishop himself, its sure, in those  
writings of his, which are yet left, and in  
which he mentions a good many of his works,  
takes no manner of notice of his making, or  
intending to make, any such translation. Nay  
it does not appear, that he so much as thought  
it

it lawful to have the scriptures in the vulgar or mother tongue; however he allowed them to be read in the vulgate *Latin* version, by such of the laity as were able to read and understand them in that language; tho' in his books he translates very large parcels of them into *English*.

Abbot *Whetbamsted* on much better grounds intimates, that our bishop translated the lord's prayer into *English*, and commented or paraphrased on it in the same language: 'So †proud, says he, was he of his knowledge in his own conceit, that over and above that saving prayer, which the most learned doctor of doctors, our lord *Jesus Christ*, composed with his own mouth, he set forth no less than *three* other prayers, and published them to the people, that they might say them:' Unless he meant, that the bishop published three forms of prayer of his own composing in *English*, besides his translation of the lord's prayer into that language. However this be, here's another instance of the care, which was then taken to hide from the people the means of greater knowledge, lest they should discover the follies and superstitions which were then practised, and no longer give credit to those fabulous

† In tantum in suo sensu de sua scientia superbierat, taliter se supra se in altum elevabat, quod ultra oracionem illam salvificam, quam doctor doctorum doctissimus, dominus videlicet *Jesus Christus*, proprio suo ore composuit, ederet in suo vulgari nedum alias tres, et populo ad dicendum propalaret. *AAA &c. MS.*

lous legends and romantick stories, which they were so commonly made to believe for truth.

A much later writer mentions another *English* tract of our bishop's, in the late archbishop *Tenison's* library, entituled, *The poor man's looking-glass*; at the end of which is added another little tract called, *Some counsels for humane instruction*, in which the author advises his readers to be diligent in perusing the scriptures, and to have frequent commerce with those divine books. But so far as I can see, we have no reason to ascribe either of these tracts to our bishop.

Mr. Henry  
Wharton.

Thus have I endeavoured to give the best account I could of the life and actions of our bishop. He was certainly a person of very great parts and abilities, and was much superior in learning to even the generality of those of his own order at that time. But he seems to have been a little too confident|| in these  
rare

|| In this manner does the bishop express himself in his *first* part of the *Book of Faith*. " I haue spake oft tyme and bi long  
" leifer with the wittiest and kunnyngist men of thilk seid soort  
" contrarie to the chirche, and which han beholde as dukis  
" amonge hem, and which han loued me for that y wolde patientli heere her evydencis and her motyues without exprobracioun ; and verili noon of hem couthe make eny motiue  
" for her parti so stronge, as y myself couthe have made therto.  
" And noon of hem couthe make eny motiue, which schulde  
" meve a thrifti sad clerke nedis into concent ; but ech thrifti  
" sad clerk in logik, philosophie, and divinitie schulde soone  
" schewe her motive to be ouer feble, to be a cleer and undoubtable proof. And if y may not herynne be bileueed of hem,  
" write thei her euydencis and motyyes in which thei trusten,  
" and thei schullen se by writyng agen, that thei kunne rigt  
" little



rare endowments, of which he was so great  
 a master, and to have trusted too much to  
 them; whilst he hoped to be able by pure rea-  
 son and argument to defend a very corrupt  
 church, in all its main doctrines and usages, a-  
 gainst all opposers or assailants. Its very plain  
 to any one who peruses those writings of his  
 lordship's, which are yet remaining, how he  
 was forced to sweat and labour hard in per-  
 forming the difficult task which he undertook.  
 So that however confident he was of success,  
 and that, as his lordship expressed himself,  
 ' the wittiest and most knowing men of that  
 ' sort, contrary to the church, and which  
 ' have been helde as dukes among them, knew  
 ' right little to do for their party ;' he was  
 yet forced here and there to drop many a con-  
 cession, such as the warm and violent men of  
 the church could by no means brook or con-  
 sent to. Our bishop seems to have hoped, that  
 in doing this he might have been safe enough  
 from censure, since he was writing on the  
 church's side, defending her bishops and cler-  
 gy from the clamours and invectives used against  
 them, and shewing to those, who scrupled  
 the obligation of her determinations, the law-  
 fulness and reasonableness of their conformity  
 to

" litil maistris do for her party : ghe, moche lasse than good  
 " clerkis kunnen for her parti do. Ceese thei therfore, and leve  
 " thei werk ; for y wote weel thei hewen above her heedis,  
 " and weenen that thei han more and clerer sight in kunning  
 " thanne thei han, or mowe haue, without clergie or greet helpe  
 " of clerkis."

to them. In this his lordship judged too kindly of other men's moderation and candour by his own, and soon found himself mistaken.

Under so severe judges, as the prelates and clergy of that time generally were, it was not indeed likely, that one of our bishop's spirit should be suffered to escape unpunished. The infallible authority of the church, and lawfulness of terrifying dissenters by wholesome severities, and pious rigours, were favourite opinions; the opposers of which were not to be suffered to act with impunity. Besides, it was a tacit reproach of the cruel proceedings then used against the poor dissenting *Wiclifists*, for our bishop to treat them with so much gentleness and goodness, *as patiently to bear their evidences, and listen to their motives without exprobration*, or using any insulting or upbraiding language to them. This was such a reproof to the thoughts of those who, shewed no bowels of compassion towards dissenters, but reckoned they did GOD service by tormenting and killing them that; we need not wonder at their lying in wait for our bishop, because *he was not for their turn, and clean contrary to their doings*. Accordingly we see, that so much was our bishop's enemies set against him, as in opposition to him to espouse the principles of those very people, whom they called and treated as hereticks. But it was for the everlasting honour of our bishop, that he preferred the rational way of dealing with dissenters,

*Leland, de script. Brit.*  
p. 379.

*Book of faith*  
MS. part I.

ters, or the manifesting the truth to their consciences, before that cruel and inhuman method of making them a gazing-stock by reproaches, spoiling their goods, and tormenting their bodies with fire and faggot. This shewed by how christian a spirit our bishop was acted, and that he was not like the men of this world, who hate those that are of GOD, and persecute such as are born of the spirit. I shall conclude with the following prayer of the bishop's own composing in *English*.

**O** thou lord J E S U, G O D and man, head of thy christian church, and teacher of christian belief, I beseech thy mercy, thy pity, and thy charitie, far be this said peril (of implicit faith) from the christian churche, and from each person therein contained, and shield thou, that this venom be never brought into thy church, and if thou suffre it to be any while brought in, I beseeche thee, that it be soon again outspir; but suffer thou, ordaine, and do, that the law and the faith, which thy church at any time keepeth, be received and admitted to fall under this examinatioun, whether it be the same berry faith, which thou and thine apostles taught or no, and whether it hath sufficient evidences for it to be very faith or no.



# A D D E N D A.

## Corrections and Additions.

Page 41, Line 13. *r. thet haben.*

62, 5. from bot. *r. writing.*

72, 13. *r. exortid.*

95, *mar. note.* line 13. add. But these are the softnings of the *English Popish* missionaries, since the detection of the fraud of this superstition at the reformation, and since. It is very plain by the *English* rubrics printed in the *hore beatissime virginis Marie*, 1527. that by these *indulgences* was then pretended to be granted *a clene remysion of all synnes perpetually enduring*; and ten hundred thousand yers of pardon for *dedly synnes* graunted of our holy father *Jhonn xxii.* pope of *Rome*: and *thousands of yers of pardon for venial synnes*. By another of these rubrics we are assured, that *who that devoutly with a contrite heart daily say this oryson, yf he be that day in the state of eternal damnacyon, than thys eternal payne shall be chaunged hym in temporal payne of purgatory; than yf he hath deserved the payne of purgatory, it shall be forgotten and forgyuen throwe the infinite mercy of God.*

*Abjuratio Peacoci in foro judiciali.*

In Dei nomine, *Amen.* Coram vobis reverendissimo in Christo patre et domino,  
Z domino



## A D D E N D A.

domino *Thoma Dei gratia Cant. archiepiscopo totius Anglie primate et apostolice sedis legato. Ego Reginaldus Pecock indignus Ecclesie Cicestrensis episcopus, pure sponte, simpliciter, et absolute confiteor et recognosco, quod ego retroactis temporibus, videlicet per viginti annos proxime preteritos et amplius, de ecclesiasticis sacramentis et articulis fidei aliter sensi, tenui, docui, scripsi et dogmatizavi quam sacrosancta Romana et universalis ecclesia docet, prædicat, et observat: nec non contra veram catholicam, et apostolicam fidem multa et diversa perniciofa dogmata, libros, codices, opuscula et scripta, hereses et errores fidei catholice et bonis moribus contrarias in se continentia feci, scripsi, edidi, et publicavi: et specialiter hereses et errores infra scriptas, videlicet. I. Quod non est de necessitate salutis credere, quod dominus noster Jesus Christus post mortem descendit ad inferos. II. Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis credere in Spiritum Sanctum. III. Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis credere in sanctam ecclesiam catholicam. IV. Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis credere in sanctorum communionem. V. Item, quod ecclesia universalis potest errare in his que sunt fidei. VI. Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis, credere et tenere, quod illud quod concilium generale et universalis ecclesia statuit, approbat, seu determinat in favorem fidei, et ad salutem animarum, est ab universis Christi fidelibus*

## A D D E N D A.

*fidelibus approbandum et tenendum: etiam, quod reprobat, determinat seu condemnat esse fidei catholice vel bonis moribus contrarium, hoc ab eisdem pro reprobo et condemnato esse credendum et tenendum.* Unde ego idem *Reginaldus* miserabilis peccator, qui diu in tenebris ambulavi, nunc ad lucem et semitam veritatis, Deo misericorditer disponente, reductus, et ad unitatem sancte matris ecclesie rediens, hæreses, et errores supradictos, et alios quoscunque in libris, codicibus, opusculis seu scriptis meis contentos solenniter et publice revoco, atque eosdem, ac omnem aliam speciem heresis detestor, anathematizo, et per sanctam et homousiam trinitatem, et per hec sacrosancta Dei evangelia abjuro: ac etiam simpliciter juro, quod penitentiam condignam, mihi, occasione premissorum injungendam, humiliter subibo. Nec non, quod errores et hereses hujusmodi, cujuscunque generis seu speciei censeantur, de cetero, verbo, nutu, vel facto non fovebo, seu alios vel alium ad credendum illis, verbo vel facto publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte vel alias quovis modo inducam. Atque omnes et singulos qui contra veram catholicam, et apostolicam fidem venerunt cum dogmatibus et confessoribus suis eterno anathemate dignos esse pronuntio. Quod si ego ipse aliquem contra eandem fidem aliquid sentire, tenere, docere, aut predicare presumpsero, canonum severitati subjaceam. Et huic scripto, per

## A D D E N D A.

me lecto et perlecto, sponte subscripsi manu propria in fidem et testimonium premifforum.

*The Roman Creed in Greek in old English Writing and Translation.*

Ἰστευο eis theon patera pantokratopa, cai eis criston ihu yion autou ton monoze-  
nee ton cupion mou, ton zenneðenta ec  
pneumatos agiou cai marias parðenou, ton  
epi pontiou pilatou rtaupoðenta, tapinta,  
te tpite imepa anastanta eis tous oupanous,  
cað imepon indexia tou patros oðen enche-  
tai cpinali zonetas te nicpouo. cai eis  
pneuma agion, agian ecclesian, apusin a-  
maritione, sapcos anastasin. amin.

N. B. *Literæ e, i, y, ejusdem sunt potestatis apud Anglo-Saxones.*

By this form of the creed it appears, that in the old *English* church, the article of *Christ's* descent into hell, was not in the common creed, nor did they profess to believe in the holy church.

Quod symbolo apostolico interferitur *de descensu Christi ad inferos, de ecclesia catholica, et communione sanctorum*, sequioris est ævi, et explicationis magis dubiæ. *Thom. Burnet de fide, &c. Christianorum.*





# I N D E X.

## A

<b>A</b> <i>Bjuration, Bp. Pecock's</i>	p. 232, 239
<i>Adoration of the Host</i>	15
Anjou	189
<i>Annates</i>	31, 56
<i>Apocrypha</i>	280
Arundel, Thomas	24, 213
—— John	256
Ayscough, Bp.	191, 195, 307

## B

<b>B</b> <i>Eleth, John</i>	<i>Pref. p. ix. xii</i>
Belward, Nicholas	312
Beverly, Peter	
<i>Bible-men</i>	63
<i>Bibles, English</i>	312
Bigam	286
Blue-beard	190
Bonner, Bp.	261
Boothe, William, Bp.	196
<i>Books of Bp. Pecock's</i>	315
<i>Bulls of restitution</i>	250
Burbach, John	206
<i>Burning hereticks</i>	177, 298
Bury John	206, 249, 274

## C

<b>C</b> <i>A D E, John</i>	193
Cannyngs, Sir Thomas	
<i>Canonising saints</i>	297
<i>Capital church punishments</i>	159
Catholic	300
Chandler, Thomas	248
Chedworth, John	218
<i>Christ's descent into hell</i>	210
Clement Vincent	20, 307
Clifford, Sir Lewis	11
Collier, Jer.	271
Constantine's donation	116, 260
	<i>Creed</i>



# I N D E X.

Creed, common	p. 210
Croisade	179
Cross	87

## D

<b>D</b> Amlet, Hugh	
Decisions unexamined	288
De la Bere, John, Bp.	30
Derby, John	255
Determinations, ecclesiastical	66, 199, 211
Distinctions of meats	301

## E

<b>E</b> SDRAS	280
Eyburhall, John	14
Thomas	206

## F

<b>FAITH</b>	
Flemming, Richard	234, 290
Fox, John	3
Friers	269
	139, 204

## G

<b>G</b> Arfdale, Richard	3
Gascoigne, Thomas	24, 186
Gerson	200
Gloucester, Duke of	4, 188
Godhard, William	36
Gray, William	247
Gregory, pope	234

## H

<b>H</b> Arlow, John	308
Harpsfield, Archdeacon	269
Hart, Walter, Bp.	20
Haydock, Gilbert	255
Head of the church	302

## I

<b>I</b> Mages	79, 112
Indulgences	97, 149, 179
Infallibility, &c.	202
Inventories	151
Invocation of the Spirit	180
K. John	134

## K

<b>K</b> Amys	188
Kemp, John, Abp.	28

Kemp

# I N D E X.

Kemp, Thomas, *Bp.*  
Kyme

2. 245  
188

## L

**L**AY

Leland, John

295

Lewide

9

Littefield, William

205

*Liturgies*

206

Lollards

180

Lowe, John, *Bp.*

10, 204

Lumby, Marmaduke

13

Lyherd, *see* Hart

28

196, 305

## M

**M**Arriage of *Priests*

300

Mendall, *Capt.*

193

*Midsummer-eve*

70

Milverton, John

206

*St. Michael in Riola*

9

Montacute, *Sir* John

11

Molens, Adam

20, 185

*Moral Law*

73

More, *Sir* Thomas

2, 4

Myllington, William

206

## N

**N**EVIL, *Sir* William

11

— George, *Bp.*

30, 220

## O

**O**ATH of *bishops to the pope*

123

*Oaths, use of*

154

*Orders of clergy*

118

— of *religious*

138

*Order, or discipline*

296

Orle, John

310

Oxford University

248

## P

**P**Arsons, *Father*

269

Pecche, *Sir* John

11

Pecocke, Reynold

*Pilgrimages*

92

*Pope admonished*

129

— *supremacy*

id.

*Possessions of the clergy*

114

*Preaching*

17, 33, 203

*Processions,*

# I N D E X.

<i>Processions</i>	111
<i>Provisions, papal</i>	29
<i>Prayers to saints</i>	147

**Q** Uignonius, Card.

<i>Reason</i>	293
<i>Repressour</i>	62
<i>Residence</i>	27, 48
Richard, Duke of York	189

<i>Sacraments</i>	233
Say, Lord	191
<i>Scripture</i>	64, 72, 136, 228, 287
St. Spirit's College	7
Stafford, Abp.	28, 221
Story, Sir Richard	11
Stillington, Robert	253
Suffolk, Duke of	187, 190
Supremacy, papal	137

<i>Tarentum, Doctor</i>	225
<i>Teaching</i>	38, 39
Thornbury, William	230
Thorney, Abby	256
Tindal, William	313
<i>Treatise of faith</i>	199

<i>V</i> <i>Erities unwritten</i>	289, 290
<i>Vestments popish</i>	pref. ix
Usher, Abp.	

<b>W</b> Alden, Thomas	28
Waynflete, William, Bp.	218
Whethamstead, John	242
Whittington, Sir Richard	7
Wicliff, John, <i>his death</i>	10
Worthington, Gilbert	205

<b>Y</b> ORK, Duke of	192
-----------------------	-----

## F I N I S.